

Louisiana
super
doom

IN THESE TIMES

VOL. 12, NO. 38

OCT. 5-11, 1988

\$1.25

PAGE 12

Homestretch



Candidates jockey
for position
on key issues

2
John B. Judis p.3
David Moberg p.6
Salim Muwakkil p.7
Marlene Nadle p.16

M D

©1988 Miles DeCoster



Anna Eshoo, who is running for Congress, has placed peace in Central America at the top of her priority list.

Stopping the contras in California

By Paul Rauber

Fred Ross Jr. has the good looks, aw-shucks manner and twitchy smile of a young Jimmy Stewart. A veteran of innumerable campaigns at age 40, the executive director of the anti-contra aid organization Neighbor to Neighbor (N2N) is giving 18 young organizers a crash course in electoral politics.

"When I was just a kid, I walked precincts for three hours for [former Rep.] Phil Burton out in the Sunset district of San Francisco," he recalls. "Afterward, he sat us around in his living room: 'Freddy, what are you hearing out there?' It really gives you a charge—here is this member of Congress who thinks that *you* are important enough for him to personally debrief you." Ross isn't just reminiscing. There's a moral to be drawn: "Remember, that's a key element—you want to get a lot of candidate involvement with volunteers; as many personal relationships as possible."

The kids listen intently, some taking notes. They have come from around the country to learn what it takes to put together a real precinct-based, get-out-the-vote operation. For practice, they're laying the grass-roots groundwork to help elect Anna Eshoo, a liberal Democratic county supervisor, to Congress in California's traditionally Republican 12th Congressional District. Eshoo has convinced them and their leader Fred Ross that if elected she would be a strong vote in Congress for N2N's issues: against contra aid and for a negotiated settlement in El

Salvador. In return for N2N's significant organizational support, Eshoo has placed peace in Central America at the top of her priority list.

"That's a sacred vote," she told a large campaign rally assembled only a week later by the N2N crew. "You believe in that, and so do I—we understand that it's wrong to go on violent quests for democracy."

In praise of organizing: While every candidate talks about grass-roots organizing, few really know how to do it—and none better than the organizers who grew up around an obscure Chicano activist named Caesar Chavez in the middle '60s. Twenty years after the first grape boycott by the United Farm Workers (UFW), many of the tactics honed in leader Chavez' early campaigns have now become the bread and butter of California politics. In an age of supposed domination of the political scene by the "spin doctors" and the media, former UFW organizers like Fred Ross have shown that in a close race, nothing can replace the personal contact of a good grass-roots campaign.

Good organizing is not necessarily related to political correctness. Many of the old UFW organizers entered the Democratic mainstream through the administration of former California Gov. Jerry Brown, and remain closely linked to the traditional pols. In 1986, for example, Fred Ross ran party machine candidate Nancy Pelosi's campaign for Congress in San Francisco's 5th Congressional District against gay Supervisor Harry Britt, who stood considerably to the left of Pelosi. Two other UFW alumni, Larry Tramutola and Richie Ross, helped Phil Burton's brother John to a comeback victory (in a seat Phil had originally carved out for him, but John lost due to a debilitating cocaine addiction) over Roberta Achtenburg, another gay activist. Tramutola also ran last year's campaign for San Francisco Mayor Art Agnos, where his "precinct captain" strategy won the day. Tramutola is now managing Anna Eshoo's precinct campaign, with a major assist from his old UFW comrade Fred Ross.

Swinging out: The power of incumbents is so strong in the late '80s that only a handful of the nation's 435 districts are up for grabs in November. The 12th Congressional District, stretching south of San Francisco from Palo Alto through Silicon Valley, is considered a possible swing district. Gerrymandered in 1960 by San Francisco powerbroker Rep. Phil Burton to create safe neighboring Democratic districts, the 12th Congressional District has long been abandoned to liberal Republicans like maverick Pete McCloskey or, more recently, Ed Zschau, who gave it up for a failed 1986 go at Democratic Sen. Alan Cranston (whose campaign was assisted by N2N).

Zschau's replacement broke the mold, however. Instead of the usual liberal, the district in 1986 returned rabid Reaganite Ernie Konnyu, who alienated even the traditional Republican heavyweights like Hewlett-Packard founder David Packard. Konnyu was defeated in last June's primary by Tom Campbell, a young law and economics professor at Stanford University. Although

Campbell is largely depending on a sophisticated computer campaign, he has his own grass-roots strategy: he's been hosting a series of "town meetings" in the district that makes him look like the incumbent, and he claims to be organizing a canvass operation of his own to challenge Eshoo's.

She had her own bruising primary battle against Christic Institute co-founder Jim Garrison, but emerged with the local party largely united behind her. Despite its Republican history, the high-tech, highly educated Silicon Valley area has a slight Democratic tilt in registration. The latest polls show Campbell leading 38 percent to Eshoo's 33 percent, with a hefty undecided range. It's just the kind of campaign Neighbor to Neighbor looks for.

"What we bring to a campaign is people power," says Paul Milne, N2N's organizing director. "We're not media brokers—we're most heavily involved where that personal contact is going to be the edge of difference." When N2N sees such a close race, it sends a detailed questionnaire to the candidates, eliciting their views on Central America. "We're looking for a candidate who's interested in being more than a good vote on Central America," says Ross between training sessions. "The movement for peace in Central America needs more people willing to take risks."

Making a difference: Neighbor to Neighbor is relatively new to electoral politics. Traditionally, it had concentrated on organizing house meetings (another old UFW tactic), letter-writing and phone-calling campaigns, all to pressure Congress on the question of contra aid. Results, however, were mixed; some representatives lobbied heavily by the group still voted along with Reagan. So in 1986 N2N went to work to elect a better class of

INSIDE STORY

congressional representative. They were instrumental in the victories of David Skaggs and Ben Campbell in Colorado, and of Louise Slaughter, the first Democrat since the Depression elected to Congress from Rochester, N.Y. "Slaughter had done polling in her district and found strong anti-contra aid sentiment," says Ross. "She wasn't afraid to use it on the stump." With N2N's help, Slaughter won by less than half a percentage point.

Only two or three of the 18 N2N activists getting the crash course in precinct operations from Fred Ross and Larry Tramutola remained in Eshoo's district after their training. The others fanned out back across the country to work in other close races where a good grass-roots operation could make the difference: California's 19th Congressional District, for instance, where well-known state Sen. Gary Hart has a chance of unseating Robert Lagomarsino, the ranking Republican on the Western Hemisphere affairs subcommittee; Lana Pollack in Michigan's 2nd Congressional District; Peter Kostmayer in Pennsylvania's 8th and half a dozen others.

Of course, N2N's sometimes-crucial assistance doesn't come for free. "It's a conditional project with politicians," says Milne. "That's one reason to elect people—they will feel the heat of your constituency in the future."

Neighbor to Neighbor feels so confident that it will be able to keep further military hardware out of the hands of the contras for the remainder of the Reagan administration—and even in a Bush administration, if it comes to that—that it's already looking forward to its next project.

"Where we see the next pivotal point is the situation in El Salvador," says Milne. With the probability of a victory by the ultra-right ARENA party in the coming Salvadoran elections, he believes, it will be harder for whatever administration to sell continued military assistance to the American people. "We intend to call for a stop to all war-related aid, and to support negotiations that would involve all parties.... We want to prove that you can win on the issue of peace in Central America."

California's 12th Congressional District may be the test of that.

Paul Rauber is a political reporter for the *East Bay Express*.

CONTENTS

Inside Story: Testing Central American policy in a House race	2
Examining the first presidential debate	3
In Short	4
The drug issue—a bad trip for the Democrats	6
Duke and the Jackson faction	7
A look at three key new labor leaders	8
Blacks vs. Koreans—a new racial battle in New York	9
France leaves Mideast peace initiatives to the U.S.	11
Wasting Louisiana	12
Editorial	14
Letters/Sylvia	15
Viewpoint: Bush, Duke and the Latin American debt crisis	16
Life in the U.S.: Citizen Alert organizes in the Nevada desert	18
In the Arts: Rockin' for rights in Costa Rica	19
In Print: Irony mining in the vast wasteland of television	20
Crossover success along the U.S.-Mexican border	21
Classifieds/Life in Hell	23
Hearst—Patty melts down on film	24

(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 472-5700. The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright © 1988 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL, and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054. This issue (Vol. 12, No. 38) published Oct. 5, 1988, for newsstand sales Oct. 5-11, 1988.

CAMPAIGN 88



By John B. Judis

JACKSON, MISS.

THE FIRST DEBATE BETWEEN VICE PRESIDENT George Bush and Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis, held September 25 in Winston-Salem, pumped a little fresh air into what has been one of the foulest campaigns on record. A few genuine differences between the candidates emerged—differences that could actually affect how they govern.

The clearest differences came over domestic policy and defense. Dukakis called for the government to ensure that every worker has health insurance by forcing busi-

Candidates' differences emerge in first debate

nesses to provide it. Bush claimed that Dukakis' plan would "sock every business in the country and thus throw some people out of work."

Dukakis called for the government to provide "affordable housing for families with low and moderate income," while Bush opposed

direct government provision of housing. Government could best help homebuyers, Bush argued, by keeping interest rates low—something that the Reagan administration has succeeded in doing.

Bush's response to Dukakis' concrete proposals bore out his reluctance to do anything

about housing or health insurance—both issues of great concern to middle- and lower-income voters. But Dukakis left himself open to attack on both fronts.

Change of heart: Dukakis' health plan, which he unveiled the week before the debate, is an attempt to make the best of a bad fiscal and political situation. If properly administered through the federal government, a national health insurance program could create net savings for individuals and businesses. But it would require new taxes to finance, and no politician is willing to propose either a major new bureaucracy or new taxes. In-

Continued on page 10

Flag-factory visit: Bush's far-fangled banter in the land of the free market and home of low wages

If, after wrapping himself in the American flag for the last three months of the campaign, George Bush wins the election this November, one of the first things his incoming administration will probably do is order some spiffy new presidential seal flags to display around the White House.

These seals, *In These Times* has learned, currently cost taxpayers \$4,000 each—kind of a White House budget version of those overpriced Pentagon bolts and toilet seats. But unlike the Pentagon equipment, much of which is made by well-paid unionized workers in defense industry plants, these presidential seals are produced by low-paid workers at Annin & Co., a small privately owned flag-making firm in Essex County, N.J. Workers at the plant start out earning \$4.00 an hour and, if they're really fast at piece-

work, can get up to the stunning wage of \$6.50 an hour.

Bush spoke late last month at the Annin & Co. plant in Bloomfield, N.J., where American flags of all sizes are made, in a flag-bedecked joint appearance with New Jersey Republican Senate candidate Pete Dawkins. At the end of Bush's speech, as he and Dawkins were leaving the rostrum, Dawkins said, "Wouldn't working here lift your spirits?"

"Oh, yeah," Bush replied enthusiastically.

The vice president, a millionaire in real life, is unlikely to seek employment as an Annin worker if he loses in November. At \$4.00 an hour he would be taking home a scant \$132 a week or \$6,864 a year. Even at \$6.50 an hour, he'd be earning only \$12,600 a year, just above the federal pov-

erty line of \$11,600 for a family of four (\$12,000 is in fact the average family income in blue-collar Bloomfield).

Annin & Co., a family-owned firm founded back in 1847, boasts annual sales of \$20 million, including a \$2 million contract with the federal government. Though the company is unionized—the United Textile Workers of America represents the workers—wages have stayed low thanks to a large regional influx of Asian and Hispanic immigrants anxious for any job at all.

They've stayed low, too, thanks to successful efforts by the Reagan-Bush administration and Republicans in Congress over the past eight years to keep the minimum wage at \$3.35 an hour.

"These are stinking jobs," says union attorney Craig Livingstone, who handed

out leaflets criticizing the administration at the Bush rally—and was called a "troublemaker" for his efforts by a vexed Bush advance man. "They're George Bush jobs—the kind that you'll be seeing a lot of in the '90s if he's elected," Livingstone says many Annin workers, even at top scale, qualify for welfare payments, while others have to work at second jobs to get by.

Though Annin plant managers in Bloomfield let its workers off for the Bush speech (which, ironically, was on the topic of doing more for the poor) and gave them little company-made flags to wave, the United Textile Workers has endorsed Michael Dukakis for president.

—Dave Lindorff

IN SHORT

By Joel Bleifuss

A point of light

In November 1981 Jeffery Allen Barney raped and strangled Ruby Mae Longworth, the wife of a Pasadena, Texas, minister. The *Houston Chronicle's* Clay Robison reports that Barney, then out on parole for an auto theft conviction, was a resident of New Directions, a Houston halfway house founded in 1968 with the help of then-Rep. George Bush. Pat McCoy, the current director of the house, says that some of the convicted murderers that participate in his program should still be behind bars, but due to overcrowding in Texas prisons are out on early release. In April 1982 Vice President George Bush cited New Directions as a "tremendous example" of the volunteer spirit as he gave the halfway house a presidential award. One month later Barney was condemned to death. In September 1988 the Bush-Quayle campaign sent 300,000 Texas households a brochure referring to Massachusetts' furlough program—a program that was established under Michael Dukakis' Republican predecessor (see *In These Times*, September 7). As Bush never fails to mention, Willie Horton, one of the men on furlough while Dukakis was governor, terrorized a young couple in Maryland. The woman was raped. The Bush-Quayle brochure stated: "As governor, Dukakis gave murderers, drug dealers and other violent criminals weekend passes to get out of prison." Of course the brochure made no mention of Bush's ties to New Directions. That's the job of the media. So why hasn't the national press picked up on this example of vice-presidential hypocrisy? The *Houston Chronicle* story was sent out on the wires. Said an editor there: "We wish we knew."

A domestic covert operation

A recent report by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs indicates that the Reagan administration's success in pushing its Central American agenda in the mid-'80s was due in part to a "domestic covert operation." As *In Short* reported last week, this White House subversion was coordinated by a National Security Council front group—the State Department Office of Latin American Public Diplomacy (S/LPD). According to the committee's report, the S/LPD was staffed by "senior CIA officials with backgrounds in covert operations, as well as military intelligence and psychological operations specialists from the Department of Defense." S/LPD contracted out much of its covert "work" to the public-relations firm International Business Communications (IBC), an outfit that was so closely connected to the administration that one White House staffer described it as "the White House outside the White House."

Targetting a congressman: Among the obstacles the administration faced in pushing its Central American agenda were certain members of Congress. To take care of this problem Richard Miller, a co-owner of IBC and the former director of public affairs at the Agency for International Development (AID), teamed up with contra fund-raiser Carl "Spitz" Channell to devise a negative ad campaign. One of these Channell-financed, Miller-directed campaigns was aimed at former Rep. Michael Barnes (D-MD). Barnes, a contra-aid opponent who chaired the House subcommittee on Western Hemisphere affairs, ran unsuccessfully for the Senate in the 1986 Maryland primary. In addition to opposing contra aid, Barnes' subcommittee had made the mistake of investigating Oliver North's contra support network. According to Channell's notes, the ad campaign, which depicted the congressman as a Sandinista sympathizer, was intended to "destroy Barnes [and] use him as [an] object lesson to others." Writes Channell, "Barnes—wants [to] indict Ollie. Watergate babies want to get at the President through Ollie. Want another Watergate. Put Barnes out of politics. If we get rid of Barnes we get rid of the ringleader and rid of the problem." Barnes' Maryland district lay in the Washington media market, enabling the smear campaign to be viewed by all Congress members. Although Channell and Miller knew these attacks stood no chance of changing Barnes' vote, they served as a not-too-subtle warning to other Congress members.

NPR, CBS and Sandinista prostitutes: The S/LPD, under the leadership of Otto Reich (like the IBC's Miller, another former AID official), did not contract out all of its dirty work. Reich personally stalked those journalists and media outlets that strayed from reporting the official line on Central America. Robert Parry and Peter Kornbluh, writing in the latest *Foreign Policy*, report that after National Public Radio (NPR) aired a report of a contra attack on civilians, Reich warned the network that he had "a special consultant service listening to all NPR programs." According to Bill Buzenberg,

IN 1970 WHEN YOU WERE A STATE REPRESENTATIVE, YOU FILED FIVE BILLS ON BEHALF OF BILL BAIRD—ABORTION AND HOMOSEXUAL RIGHTS ADVOCATE.



I'M SURE THEY WERE MORAL. I'M VERY MORAL! VOTE FOR ME!

• HOUSE BILL 3482—TO REPEAL THE LAW AGAINST FORNICATION (SEX OUTSIDE OF MARRIAGE).

• HOUSE BILL 3483—REPEAL THE LAW PUNISHING BLASPHEMY.

• HOUSE BILL 3272—REPEAL THE LAWS PUNISHING UNNATURAL AND LASCIVIOUS ACTS WITH ANOTHER PERSON. (ESPECIALLY SERIOUS IN LIGHT OF "AIDS" TRANSMISSION.)



WELL... I'M KINDA MORAL.

• HOUSE BILL 3484—REPEAL THE LAW PROHIBITING THE CRIME AGAINST NATURE ("EITHER WITH MANKIND OR WITH BEAST")



BEASTIALITY?



SEX WITH ANIMALS? YECCH!



WELL... IT SEEMED MORAL AT THE TIME.

ss. West Roxbury Transcript, 2/27/74

Pulpit literature

At last August's Republican National Convention, televangelist Jerry Falwell did his part for the Bush-Quayle campaign—and the nation's political discourse—by attempting to hawk 10 million copies of the comic book *Magical Mike: The Real Story of Mike Dukakis*.

Like the devil, *Magical Mike* takes several guises. In one scene, Dukakis, wearing a dress, wig and pearls, swishes across the page as Sheriff Pansy, a friend to all criminals. Later donning a doctor's coat, vacuum cleaner in hand, Dukakis becomes a baby-killing abortionist.

His sins are many. In 1970 Dukakis sponsored legislation that repealed three of Massachusetts' Puritan-inspired sumptuary laws. For that three-pronged sin, the comic book portrays the Democratic presidential nominee—this time, an angel surrounded by a swarm of flies—as a supporter of witchcraft, fornication and bestiality.

"Why would anybody introduce a bill to make bestiality legal?" asks

Paul Brown, the funny guy who produced the book. "I'm just reporting what he did. My only concern was a humanitarian one for the Easter Bunny and Rudolf the Red-Nosed Reindeer."

One person influenced by the comic was Paul Schwend of Jacksonville, Fla., a Dukakis delegate and Democratic Party stalwart. "[*Magical Mike*] confirmed a lot of different things I knew," Schwend told *In These Times*. "I endorse the book. It does bring out a lot of truths. It's factual."

These "facts" posed a problem for Schwend who describes himself as a Christian. "I had to stomach all this stuff and I had to keep my mouth shut. I couldn't sleep nights. It came down to my political career or following my conscience."

He sought advice from Rev. Pat Robertson. "Rev. Robertson said to go with my feelings, and that is really what I did. I asked him what to say. He said say what's in your heart."

So Schwend held a press conference, and as a "patriotic American" renounced his affiliation with the Dukakis campaign.

El Salvador sees the worst civilian massacre in five years

SAN SALVADOR—Implicated in the worst civilian massacre in five years, the Salvadoran army has changed

its original account of shootings in which 10 people died late last month, and President Jose Napoleon Duarte has ordered a military investigation of the incident.

Coming only one week after a violent military crackdown on urban dissent, the macabre killings lend credence to recent reports of renewed death-squad activity,

reminiscent of the rampant killings attributed to anti-communist extremists in the early '80s.

Families of the 10 killed on September 21 brought the incident to Americas Watch and the San Salvador Archdiocese's office of Tutela Legal. The findings of human rights workers and reporters who visited the scene the next day differed sig-

LET'S TAL

• HOUSE B LAW PRO



YOUR BILLS CALL FOR WHAT?!!

AH, HA THE S ABORT



AH 31 THI ABI

YOU AN ENEM' BABIE!

AND YOUR CON

"Duke" Q

Q. GUESS WHO VE BILLS IN 1977 & WHICH WOULD I CUTOFF OR LIM STATE FUNDING ABORTION, —AN A RIGHT-TO-LIFE AMENDMENT IN

26. West Roxbury 1 28. New Malden, Eng

—Joel Bleifuss

nificantly from the two accounts of the events offered by the military.

The army first reported that the 10 had died in combat, when soldiers of the Fifth Brigade attacked guerrillas of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) near the hamlet of San Francisco in the central province of San Vicente on September 21. Later, following publicity from human rights organizations, Fifth Brigade Commander Col. Jose Emilio Chávez Cáceres claimed the deaths occurred when his soldiers, escorting eight prisoners to the brigade headquarters, were ambushed by FMLN rebels. He said the prisoners tried to escape and were killed in the crossfire, along with two of the guerrilla attackers. Radio Venceremos, the official voice of the FMLN, later denied there were any clashes in the area on that day.

Rosa Emilia Rivas, a local woman, told reporters and human rights workers that soldiers of the Fifth Brigade's Jiboa Battalion began arresting local residents early in the morning of September 21, accusing them of associating with the FMLN. She said soldiers, who carried a list of names, interrogated 40 suspects for several hours inside the local schoolhouse. Most of those detained were released around 2 p.m. But 10 prisoners, seven men and three women, were tied up, blindfolded and taken about a half-mile outside the village.

Neighbors reported hearing two or three explosions followed by a

great deal of gunfire. Shortly afterward a helicopter arrived and departing soldiers reportedly warned residents not to leave their homes. Angela Ciprian, 50, who lost a husband and two sons in the incident, said she and her neighbors were held inside the building all day. "They took out the young men and women. We heard the gunfire and explosions, and we were very frightened, but the soldiers at the doors and windows told us to be quiet and they wouldn't let us out until after 6 p.m. Later we found the bodies."

When international observers arrived the next day they saw bodies badly disfigured by blasts consistent with hand grenades. Machine-gun cartridges and FMLN propaganda was scattered on the ground around the bodies. A U.S. photojournalist with several years' experience in the country called the bloody scenario "one of the worst things I've ever seen."

Seven of the victims were buried in a mass grave behind the local church in San Francisco by family members who said they were too poor to afford coffins.

Relatives denounced the killings to legal authorities in nearby San Sebastian two days later. The local judge then met with reporters and human rights workers and promised a full investigation. But after the news became public, several relatives of the victims said they feared for their lives. The Archdiocese of San Salvador and the non-govern-

mental human rights commission have helped to evacuate those who want to leave.

Confronted by reporters about the incident during the dedication of a housing project, President Duarte said, "I usually get correct information from the armed forces, but this does not mean we're not going to seek the truth." He later announced the formation of a military commission to investigate the shootings. Furthermore, the attorney general's office has said it will pursue its own investigation, independent of the military. A spokesman for the U.S. Embassy said that American authorities would follow the progress of the investigations closely.

In a press conference following his Sunday homily, San Salvador's auxiliary bishop, Gregorio Rosa Chavez, said that evidence uncovered to date "suggests that the military is not without blame in this incident." He added that he was encouraged by government promises to prosecute the guilty parties. But one international human rights worker expressed fears that the incident could signal a return to the brutal years of 1980-81, when military and death-squad massacres in rural areas became commonplace.

"I hope this isn't indicative that the army feels it has freedom of action like it exercised in the early part of the decade," commented a European diplomat. But, he added, the signs "look ominous."

—Sandy Smith & Anne McLaughlin

rate in the capitalist world, cut the inflation rate in half and drastically reduced the budget deficit.

In their campaign, the Social Democrats stressed improvements in workplace safety, health care and family issues, proposing to expand municipal child-care centers to include all children by 1991 and to extend the parental leave policy to 18 months. The bourgeois parties called for tax cuts and a \$2,500-per-year subsidy to mothers who choose to stay home with their children—a proposal that would be of little help in this nation of two-earner households.

The Greens campaigned for a ban on trash incineration and heavy taxes on pesticides, chemical fertilizers, energy, industrial emissions, alcohol, tobacco and all imported products they view as environmentally unsound. They would prohibit new road construction and ban automobiles in the inner cities. More fundamentally, they called for a radical economic isolationism, reducing Sweden's heavy reliance on export markets, conceding that this "Green economics" would result in a lower standard of living "in material terms."

The environment has been a continual source of political controversy in Sweden ever since nuclear power became a major issue in the mid-'70s. In 1980 voters passed a nuclear power referendum, making Sweden the first nation in the world to man-

date a gradual phase-out of all atomic reactors. The Chernobyl nuclear disaster, the erosion of the global ozone layer and the mysterious epidemic among seals have kept ecological problems in the public eye.

The Greens had also hoped to take advantage of support built by the municipal environmental parties that have sprouted in several major Swedish cities over the past decade. But while some of the municipal parties cooperated with the Greens in the local elections, Stockholm Party leader Agneta Dreber explained their decision to remain neutral in the national vote this way: "The Social Democrats are becoming very open toward environmental problems, and their economic policies are sound."

Although the Greens won 5.5 percent of the popular vote and 20 parliament seats, their gains came solely at the expense of the bourgeois parties. The SAP held all of its 159 seats in the 349-seat chamber, as the Left Communists picked up two seats to increase their delegation to 21.

While the Greens were delighted with their showing, the Social Democratic leadership was also pleased. "I welcome the Greens into the Riksdag," Carlsson said. "I think it's good for them that they won't have a power-broker role."

—Timothy Sears

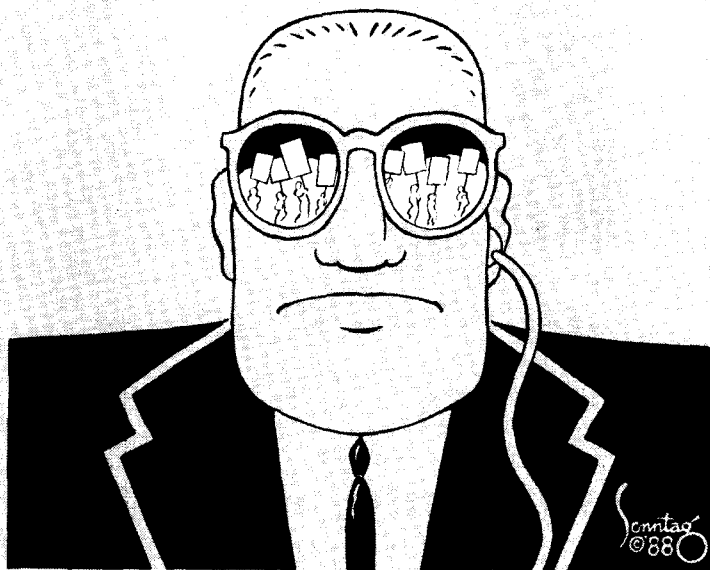
Sweden: Social Democrats keep power, Greens win seats

In an election that surprised even pollsters and pundits, Swedish voters on September 18 renewed the mandate of Prime Minister Ingrid Carlsson's Social Democratic Labor Party (SAP). They strengthened the socialist bloc's majority in the Riksdag, or parliament, and handed the opposition parties of the "bourgeois bloc" their worst defeat in the nation's history. At the same time, the radical Greens Environment Party emerged as the first new political force to enter parliament since 1917.

For months political observers had predicted that the election would in effect be decided by the "dead." They foresaw a dramatic drop in support for the Social Democrats caused by scandals arising from the futile investigation of the February 1986 assassination of Prime Minister Minister Olof Palme, and from environmental problems symbolized by the apparently pollution-related deaths of thousands of seals in the North Sea and the Baltic.

The Social Democrats came into this election with an impressive record of successes. Since coming back into power in 1982 after six years of bourgeois governments, the SAP has achieved the lowest unemployment

NPR's foreign affairs correspondent in Washington, Reich indicated that he had "made similar visits to other unnamed newspapers and major television networks [and] had gotten others to change some of their reporters in the field because of a perceived bias." And in April 1984, after President Reagan became upset at CBS news' coverage of El Salvador and Nicaragua, Reich descended on the network. In a memo to President Reagan, Secretary of State George Shultz told how Reich had berated a CBS correspondent for one hour and complained for an additional two hours to the Washington bureau chief. Shultz pointed out to the president that Reich's visit to CBS was a good example of "what the Office of Public Diplomacy has been doing to help improve the quality of information the American people are receiving.... [Such visits have] been repeated dozens of times over the past few months." Reich's attacks on errant journalists were limited only by the scope of his imagination. In July 1985 his office spread this false story: a Nicaraguan defector maintains that Sandinista prostitutes serviced some U.S. journalists in return for favorable stories about Nicaragua. As Reich told *New York* magazine, the Sandinista pimps didn't proffer only women: gay journalists were given men.



Infiltrating the left: While "private" groups targeted members of Congress, and while the White House-based S/LPD intimidated the press, the National Security Council (NSC) sicced the FBI on those Americans opposed to the administration's Central America policy. The bureau dusted off its Vietnam-era bag of tricks: FBI informers infiltrated meetings; agents photographed people at peace rallies; bureau field offices coordinated "attacks" on Central American solidarity organizations. Between 1981 and 1985, 52 of the FBI's 58 field offices investigated more than 138 different organizations. For two of those years 10 agents were employed full time fighting this internal threat. One of the main objects of FBI ire was the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). As a Nov. 10, 1983, memorandum from the FBI's New Orleans office said: "It is imperative at this time to formulate some plan of attack against CISPES and specifically against individuals who defiantly display their contempt for the U.S. government by making speeches and propagandizing their cause." At the NSC's request, agents interrogated more than 100 Americans who were returning from visits to Nicaragua. In early September in testimony before the House subcommittee on civil and constitutional rights, FBI Director William Sessions said his bureau was the real victim—a "victim of managerial or supervisory inadequacies." Sessions maintained, "I have seen no evidence that the conduct in question was either illegal or motivated by any improper purpose." Six low-ranking agents were held responsible for this domestic spy operation. Three received a written reprimand, and the others were suspended for two weeks without pay.

Outside democracy's parameters: The CIA/NSC's ministry of information eventually won its battle for the hearts and minds of Congress and the national media. In spring 1986 the House of Representatives voted to renew contra aid and put the CIA back in the director's chair. As Reich said in a June 1986 letter requesting that his office be officially commended for its success: "S/LPD has played a key role in setting out the parameters and defining the terms of the public discussion on Central America policy.... Despite the efforts of the formidable and well-established Soviet/Cuban/Nicaraguan propaganda apparatus, the achievements of U.S. public diplomacy are clearly visible."

By David Moberg

WHEN MICHAEL DUKAKIS AND GEORGE Bush squared off in their first television debates, the first questions were about drugs. Bush immediately bemoaned "a deterioration of values" in the country, taking whacks at permissiveness in the schools and popular culture, then ending with a plea for better education and a non-partisan approach to the problem. Later in the debate, he plugged execution for "a narcotics wrapped-up guy [who] goes in and murders a police officer" (as if state laws didn't already permit that in most cases). If the polls are right, Bush pushed all the right buttons to maximize his support.

But Dukakis also played his strongest cards. By stressing the Reagan/Bush administration's ties to drug-indicted Panamanian Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega, Dukakis raised the subliminal issue of "sleaze" and, more important, the issue of how external drug traffickers are penetrating U.S. borders be-

CAMPAIGN 88

cause of governmental inaction. He talked tough about enforcement but emphasized drug education starting at an early age, directly addressing widespread voter worries about kids and drugs with an anecdote about a desperate young girl. Bush, in rebuttal, was forced on the defensive—even asserting the dubious claim that ever since the Eisenhower administration, when Noriega was in his teens and early 20s, U.S. governments had been involved with the Panamanian leader.

The Democrats' drug dilemma: It was both very appropriate and very odd that the debate started on this note. It was appropriate because many polls have shown drugs to be the top issue with voters this year. It was odd because all indications are that drug use has been declining over the past decade with the potent exception of cocaine and crack use among lower-class blacks and Hispanics in some big cities.

But the politics of drugs and alcohol use in America have always been more symbolic than substantial. From 19th-century protests by whiskey-swilling Yankees against beer-drinking immigrants through 20th-century Prohibition and the reefer madness fears about new urban blacks, American views about mind-altering substances have carried a heavy load of tangled, emotional meanings.

In many ways, Jesse Jackson is responsible for making low-level popular concerns about drugs into the primary public issue this year. He stressed his opposition to drugs as a way to reach conservatives who would be put off by many of his liberal/left political ideas. But research by Stanley Greenberg, a pollster and political analyst who works for Democrats, shows that under most circumstances the drug issue works for Republicans and Bush.

In 1986 and 1987 economic issues topped voter concerns, especially worries over unemployment and recession, even though those were years of recovery. That was good



Poll indicates Dukakis should emphasize economics, not drugs

news for Democrats. But by 1988 drugs were listed as the single-biggest worry (16 percent), and unemployment worries fell sharply (8 percent listed it as most important, down from 12 percent in 1987, 16 percent in 1986). In his survey, done in early July, Greenberg found 40 percent of his sampled voters listing drugs as either the top or second-most-important national problem.

The continued, if slow and erratic, growth of the economy accounts for some decline in ranking of economic issues. But vague anxieties people had about the future were also shifted from the economy to drugs thanks to both Jackson and some press hysteria. Bush is now the beneficiary.

An ironic, opiate of the masses: Two-thirds of all voters were not happy with what the Reagan administration has done on drugs, Greenberg reported. Fully one-fourth of the electorate approved of Reagan's performance generally but didn't like the administration's drug record. But that doesn't mean they're likely to vote for Dukakis. Overwhelmingly they didn't see—and didn't want to see—drug policy as a partisan issue. The drug issue is a depoliticizing force among an already depoliticized electorate.

Given a choice between a Democrat critical of Reagan inaction and a Republican who says (as Bush suggested in his answer) that the problem is too important for politics, "voters opt decisively for the latter, 72 to 24 percent," Greenberg concluded. By a smaller margin voters also preferred a Republican who talks about increased drug seizures, testing and the "just say no" campaign to a Democrat criticizing inaction. If the Democrat specifically talks about the Noriega link, but the Republican advocates the death penalty, the margin closed, but the Republican still came out well ahead, 54 to 39 percent.

Only "when faced with a Democratic candidate advocating drug education and rehabilitation and a Republican one leading with the death penalty, the Democrat wins handily, 64 to 32 percent," Greenberg wrote in his September report to the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

But Bush's attacks on Dukakis as a liberal who's soft on crime, as well as the vice president's "death to drug kingpins" war cry seem to have framed the issue. In May, for instance, a *Washington Post/ABC* poll showed voters picking Dukakis over Bush as best to reduce the problem of illegal drugs by a margin of 41 to 35 percent. But by September Bush had a 44 to 40 percent edge over Dukakis.

Greenberg found that homemakers and older women, high-school educated voters, blue-collar suburbanites and regular churchgoers were the main groups pulled away from the Democrats by the drug issue. Recent results from Gallup polls for the *Los Angeles Times* confirm that the drug issue is far more important to the more politically alienated or marginal voters, especially those from lower-income groups, than to more politically engaged categories of voters, whether they lean Democratic or Republican.

These marginal "swing voters" are among the most critical groups for Dukakis, and the salience of the drug issue may be partly responsible for the sharp drop in his earlier advantage among women over Bush. For many voters, the drug scare symbolically expresses fear of losing family authority over children.

Greenberg found some striking differences between voters who saw the drug threat as mainly external, an expression of "America's lack of autonomy and leadership in the world," vs. those who saw it as an internal problem of values. Those who identified the main cause of the drug problems as foreign drug traffickers (34 percent of the total mentioned this as the first- or second-most important cause) or as border enforcement (17 percent) tended to be older or less-educated and tended to live in blue-collar suburbs or in the old South. Dukakis had a slight advantage among these voters, who split evenly

Pollster Stanley Greenberg's findings show that under most circumstances the drug issue works for the Republicans.

between a candidate attacking Noriega and one favoring the death penalty. (Among all voters the death advocate had the advantage.)

Women focussed more on drugs as a problem linked to changes in the family, instead of on external threats of drug traffickers. Voters who emphasized changes in the American family as the source of the drug problem tended to be older people from smaller cities and traditional, single-career households, and they favor Bush. However, another group

of voters thought the drug problem is linked to the changing family but gave it secondary importance. They tended to be younger, more urban, and slightly better-educated voters from two-career families. They leaned toward Dukakis.

Optimists, pessimists and others: This year the electorate is divided into three parts: optimists about the current condition and direction of the country who overwhelmingly lean to Bush, including on drug issues; pessimists who lean to Dukakis on most issues; and a critical swing bloc of those who are now relatively satisfied but are worried about the future. In July they were leaning slightly to Dukakis, Greenberg found. Education and other economic issues contended with drugs as the prime issue cited by these swing voters, who narrowly favored Democrats to handle drug policy.

But "these voters are at least as interested in the Democratic position on the economy and education, which are their first order concerns," Greenberg said. And, at least in early July, Greenberg found, voters overall gave Democrats a strong advantage over Republicans on jobs, retirement, health, toxic wastes and pollution, and education.

But Dukakis' opposition to the death penalty also plays into the Republicans' hands on the drug issue. Voters overwhelmingly chose spending more for drug education as the best drug policy (92 percent in favor, half picking it out as the most important action), Greenberg reported. But 70 percent also favored the death penalty for drug-related crimes; 55 percent of voters said they were less likely to support a candidate who opposed the death penalty for drug dealers. Voters who stressed external threats—instinctively pro-Dukakis—were also most likely to favor the death penalty, a contradiction that Bush exploits. Greenberg concluded that "drug education is an integrating concept and language that enables the Democrats to put their stamp on the issue," but Bush may have already pre-empted much of the field.

Pushing economics, not drugs: While Dukakis would do well to stress drug education and rehabilitation for both political and honest policy reasons, Greenberg's study also makes it clear that Dukakis' best chance for winning is to shift as much attention as possible to economic anxieties and practical governmental action to help with jobs, housing, education and health care.

For decades it's been generally true that, ideologically, Americans tend to be fairly conservative; but in terms of government programs that help the working class or middle class along with the poor, they are far more liberal. The drug issue gives the Democrats few openings—education and treatment—but it unleashes a storm of conservative Republican furies about changing families and law and order.

Republican campaign opportunism, along with usual election-year idiocy from both parties, has guaranteed that the country this year will get bad legislation from Congress and hear few intelligent words on what a sensible drug policy would be, despite a courageous opening of the debate on decriminalization by Baltimore Mayor Curt Schmoke. But if Dukakis at least follows his best political opportunities, stressing economic issues for working-class families and education as the response to drugs, the damage will be minimized. □



Family feud: despite upbeat joint public appearances like this one in Washington, D.C., last month, Michael Dukakis and Jesse Jackson have had a rocky post-convention relationship.

By Salim Muwakkil

IN ORDER TO WIN THE WHITE HOUSE IN NOVEMBER, Michael Dukakis must attract wayward "Reagan Democrats" back into the party fold without alienating those Democrats who never left and who form the core of Jesse Jackson's constituency. It's an electoral balancing act that is as daunting as it is necessary, and the contrasting requirements seem to have stymied the Dukakis campaign and perplexed black Democrats.

Tensions between the Jackson and Dukakis camps have received prominent attention in the media, and less public forums are even more abuzz with tales of intra-party turmoil. Jackson's supporters and advisers are dismayed by the Democratic candidate's timid campaign, and they're infuriated by his apparent snub of their major concerns.

This discontent with Dukakis was evident during the Atlantic convention—which was dubbed the "trust me convention" by those who concluded that blacks got little but vague promises from both Dukakis and Jackson. And most Jackson supporters were disgusted by the choice of conservative Texas Sen. Lloyd Bentsen as the vice-presidential nominee. But the possibility of a Democratic victory this November squelched most of the more rancorous criticism. Following the convention, however, the tensions reached a boiling point, according to Jackson adviser William Strickland.

"After Dukakis spoke in Philadelphia, Miss.—the place where three civil rights workers were killed by racists—and he failed even to mention their murders, we knew that his campaign people were either incredibly ignorant or unbelievably insensitive," Strickland said. "The other possibility was that he purposely omitted mention of the racist executions to send a message to the South that he was not interested in civil rights. And either way, it didn't look promising for black folks."

Strickland, a professor of political science at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst, was the Jackson campaign's New England coordinator and is an officer of the National Rainbow Coalition. He said the doubts about Dukakis' sympathies were intensified when he made a campaign appearance in Chicago without even extending Jackson the courtesy of a phone call. Those doubts were confirmed, he added, when Dukakis aides requested Jackson not to campaign for the

What did Jesse want? Duke can't remember

Democratic ticket in certain areas of the country. "And those are just the most obvious examples of the Dukakis campaign's disrespect for the Jackson constituency," Strickland said.

But even as he criticizes Dukakis' shortsighted strategy, he realizes its perverse utility. While a large black vote is essential to

CAMPAIGN 88

a Democratic triumph in November, Dukakis must also win between 40 to 45 percent of the white vote to have any chance of victory. And according to recent polls, his harsh treatment of Jackson attracts white support.

Resigned pragmatism: "There's been a fair amount of miscommunication and lack of understanding in the Dukakis camp about how to deal with Jackson voters," explained Ed Cole, the black chairman of the Mississippi Democratic Party. "But on the other hand, the Democrats want to win. And if they're being realistic rather than emotional, they realize that Jackson turns off as many white voters as he turns on blacks. We have to face facts that racism is still a big factor, and that we have to outsmart it."

Cole said he understood the Jackson camp's resentment of the Democratic Party's focus on disaffected whites. "But after eight years of Republican rule we cannot afford the luxury of feeling bad. We have to ensure that the next resident of the White House is a Democrat." As the campaign progresses, that sense of resigned pragmatism has become the dominant attitude among Jackson's closest advisers.

Jackson himself is pushing a similar line. The tone of his stump speeches remains defiant—his supporters are energized by his dissident positions—but the substance is a message of conciliation. "It's the lesser-of-two-evils argument all over again," noted Kansas City organizer and former Jackson

delegate Archie Welch. "It's too bad we still have to make those imperfect choices, but that's the essence of politics in this land of the free. The Democratic Party is far from paradise, but we simply can't afford a George Bush administration."

Voter registration: Jackson still makes the implicit argument that Dukakis' focus on reclaiming Reagan Democrats ignores the potential electoral clout of millions of unregistered black and Hispanic voters. "Our hope lies in coalition, voter registration and voter turnout," he said at the Congressional Black Caucus annual convention last month (see *In These Times*, Sept. 28). He also praised Dukakis during the speech, but he failed to note the rift between his candidate's staff over voting registration.

A recent report authored by the Joint Center for Political Studies bolsters Jackson's contention that an aggressive registration drive could offset the loss of disaffected white Democrats. According to the study, blacks constitute a large enough minority in six Southern states—Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Alabama, South Carolina and Mississippi—that if they voted in substantial numbers for the Democratic candidate, Dukakis could win with no more than 27 percent of the white vote.

Meanwhile, Jackson supporters throughout the country are uniformly criticizing Du-

The Dukakis campaign has snubbed Jackson and his constituency. But, according to recent polls, this approach attracts white support.

kakis' voter registration efforts (see *In These Times*, Sept. 21). Joel Ferguson, the architect of Jackson's successful Michigan campaign, said Dukakis is making the same mistake he made in the March primary. "He's placing his campaign in this vital state into the hands of people who are not familiar with Michigan

voters and voting habits," Ferguson said. "He's using the same plays that cost him the game. If you see someone about to walk off a cliff you've got to holler. I've got to holler because I don't want Dukakis to lose."

Where are the issues? Strickland argued that the Dukakis forces have intentionally underplayed the voter-registration issue. "They want to win the election but keep the Democratic Party as the same 'ol'-boy club that it is." For example, he added, "all of the issues Jesse raised in the primaries have disappeared in favor of a more conventional approach. They didn't even rally around [House Speaker Rep. Jim] Wright's charge that the CIA is stoking up trouble in Nicaragua again."

Many of Jackson's advisers, particularly those in leadership positions in the Rainbow Coalition, share the belief that Dukakis got a free pass from the media because he seemed to be the only white candidate capable of halting Jackson's march to primary victories. He always was a weak candidate, they have argued, and now his shortcomings are returning to haunt the Democratic Party. Despite these sentiments, the Rainbow Coalition has narrowed its focus almost exclusively on the election of Dukakis.

"Everything's on hold until after November 8," said Rainbow Coalition official Joe Gardner. The stakes are too high to allow another Republican administration to assume office and finish us off. The gap between the rich and the poor, the level of poverty, the incidence of homelessness and medical indigence have all increased during the last eight years of the Republicans," he said. "I shudder to think what those statistics would be if they got another crack at it."

Notwithstanding the galvanizing presence of the most successful African-American politician in the country's history, blacks again are being taken for granted by the Democratic Party. What's more, the issues championed by most black leaders are still considered marginal to the interests of the majority of the electorate.

Democrats have not won a majority of the white vote since 1964, when the party became identified with the struggle for civil rights. Increased political participation by African-Americans would assist in demarginalizing their concerns—as demonstrated in the defeat of Judge Robert Bork—but it's clear that whites' reluctance to accept black leadership remains a stumbling block of major proportions. □



John N. Sturdivant (left) of the American Federation of Government Employees and Jerry Tucker (right) of the United Auto Workers.

By David Moberg

MOST TOP UNION ELECTIONS ARE HUM-drum affairs, but late summer saw hotly contested elections in three important unions—the United Auto Workers (UAW), the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE) and the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW).

• After two years trying, former UAW international representative Jerry Tucker finally got a replay of a fraud-tainted election and ousted incumbent Ken Worley, director of the eight-state region spreading southwest from Missouri. Tucker earned at least as much enmity among many top UAW officials for flaunting the rules and traditions of the administration caucus—which the union's Public Review Board of outside luminaries likened to a one-party state—as for his advocacy of greater democracy and less subterfuge to corporate demands.

• By ousting 12-year incumbent AFGE President Ken Blaylock, John N. Sturdivant became the first black president of a major U.S. union (other than A. Philip Randolph's old, all-black Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters). But Sturdivant is somewhat more conservative than predecessor Blaylock, who was a strong supporter of Jesse Jackson and one of the most outspoken labor critics of Reagan policies in Central America.

• In the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, twice-defeated presidential contender Anthony Mazzocchi, a favorite of union militants and one of organized labor's most creative thinkers, was elected secretary-treasurer after an internal fracas of shifting alliances.

All Tuckered in: Tucker, who had built up a strong following through his use of creative tactics and sympathies for grass-roots militancy, lost his initial bid for regional director in 1986 by less than 2 percent of a vote. Despite Tucker protests of illegalities, UAW President Owen Bieber told him he would have to go outside the union for redress. The Labor Department found irregularities and won its lawsuit demanding that the UAW hold new elections. This time, after a bitter campaign, Tucker won 52 percent of the vote (and a much higher percentage of active workers). Bieber and several other UAW officers didn't even shake hands with Tucker after swearing him in.

But now Tucker is trying to unify his region and show he can be effective, for example, by working hard for Dukakis. Only three staff representatives supported his bid, but he ex-

Important new leaders in the U.S. labor scene

pects few on the staff to resist him. Yet some staff representative almost certainly will run against him next year.

Despite his conciliatory efforts, Tucker insists he will raise questions about the union's new cooperation with major auto and aerospace companies that most, but not all, previous executive board members have backed. "I'm encountering hundreds of [UAW] mem-

L A B O R R O U N D U P

bers who don't find the relationship so satisfactory and want a new debate in the union," he said. "My election wasn't a fluke. It was an expression of a fairly strong change in the UAW, possibly a new direction." But Tucker hasn't yet spelled out his new direction in much detail.

Tucker wants to keep his region's New Directions movement as "a call, not a caucus, at this juncture." He thinks the "union's extremely ingrown one-party system has become a little stifling to democratic debate," but he may wait to see what relationship he can establish with other international union officials before making a more formal break with them. Most successful challengers within the UAW leadership do not carry executive board debates to the union as a whole, but Tucker may do so.

Tucker's victory may spur other challenges. "There are a lot of closet meetings taking place," said Dave Yettaw, the General Motors local president in Flint, Mich. But he felt Tucker has inspired mainly lower-level leaders, whose ambitions may not percolate upward until 1992 elections. "If Tucker gets re-elected, he's the youngest member [at age 49] of the executive board," Yettaw said. "He's a brilliant strategist as well as quite an academic person. He has the opportunity to become president of the union one day."

AFGE's tough road: Since the early '70s the membership of AFGE, which represents federal workers but has no right to bargain collectively for them, has slid from its high point of 310,000 down to a low of 174,000 last year. The Carter administration's auster-

ity hurt many federal workers, but Reagan's policies—including stepped-up subcontracting—stung worse. AFGE's balkanized structure meant that there was no concerted organizing effort to replace an aging, retiring membership. Two years ago then-President Blaylock's efforts to raise dues and restructure the union were defeated. Earlier this year the AFL-CIO had to loan the union money to avoid bankruptcy.

Blaylock was an open, likeable "country boy" from the South with a slightly rough-hewn manner and an admirable streak of intellectual honesty and curiosity. A former defense department employee, Blaylock became a critic of military spending and contra aid. His original base included many white southerners, but he promoted minorities within the union and was an enthusiast for Jackson, who backed his re-election.

But Sturdivant, a union vice president, ran an extensive, carefully worked-out campaign capitalizing on diverse desires for change. He promised "to manage the union in a more businesslike manner" and to relate better to a changing workforce that is younger and more professional and includes more women

Recently elected John N. Sturdivant of the AFGE became the first black president of a major U.S. union.

and minorities. "When we ask federal workers, they join [the union]," he said. "I've gone out and done it." Recently the union has held free lunch-and-learn meetings on the job to draw in workers who would never go to an after-hours union meeting and offered dues discounts to new members who sign up on the spot.

"I'm a Virginia Democrat," explained Sturdivant, who is close to both former Gov. Chuck Robb and black Lt. Gov. Doug Wilder. "I'm in the tradition of centrist Democrats in Virginia who've been able to win elections."

But the convention apparently didn't pick

leaders on ideology. It mandated continued involvement in both the Labor Committee on Human Rights that is critical of U.S. Central America policy and the Rainbow Coalition, for example. But Sturdivant will be cautious, arguing, for example, that "my job as president is to forge consensus." Although he thinks "our government shouldn't be funding contras and trying to overthrow that government," he will clearly be less outspoken than Blaylock. Sturdivant sees his main task as rebuilding a union that was shrinking until organizing efforts begun a year and a half ago added 6,000 new members.

A former electronics technician in the air force and army and union official for more than 25 years, Sturdivant has studied law and has a crisply middle-class, professional style. Blacks, who make up one-third of the union, gave him an extra boost, but Blaylock retained significant black backing. More significantly, Sturdivant built a base in the Social Security and Veterans Administrations rather than in the traditional union political power base, the Defense Department.

Despite his new position as arguably labor's pre-eminent black leader, Sturdivant insists his election "doesn't make me an instant civil rights leader or spokesman for black people. Obviously I have a responsibility to be a role model for people in my union or in the labor movement, not just for blacks but for everybody." He seems content to be part of the union club. "I came up through the ranks, and I got elected," he said. "People in the labor movement appreciate that I did it their way."

OCAW goes Mazzocchi: Since 1981, when he lost his last bid for OCAW president, Tony Mazzocchi, now 62, has worked closely with local union leaders and members in his home region in New Jersey while maintaining affiliation with the Workers Institute, an educational project in New York. During that time Mazzocchi has urged the labor movement to react to corporate concessions demands with its own campaign for corporate concessions. He has tried to organize labor leaders to develop an independent labor political agenda, and he proposed a Workers Superfund to provide college training for displaced workers. He helped 3M workers in Freehold, N.J.—Bruce Springsteen's hometown—to organize against a plant shutdown that led to a solidarity walkout by black 3M workers in South Africa. In turn, he organized OCAW members to defend jailed South African labor leaders.

OCAW President Joseph Misbrenner had been on the ticket that defeated Mazzocchi, rising to the top office when president Robert Goss retired. Gradually he and other top officials came to support many of the ideas Mazzocchi had long been advocating, for example, giving full support to an ongoing multinational campaign against German chemical giant BASF on behalf of locked-out workers in Geismar, La.

Misbrenner and former secretary-treasurer Michael Ricigliano split over charges of financial irregularities made against Ricigliano. By inviting Mazzocchi onto his ticket, Misbrenner was able to win support from Mazzocchi loyalists who might have viewed Ricigliano, who ran for president this time, as an anti-establishment dissident.

The Misbrenner-Mazzocchi leadership will revive the possibilities of a merger of OCAW and the United Mine Workers, both suffering declining memberships, into a united energy workers union. Mainly Mazzocchi's presence will shift the union's emphasis. "Anything we look at," Mazzocchi said, "means more rank-and-file involvement and empowerment." □

By Daniel Lazare

NEW YORK

ACCOUNTS DIFFER AS TO EXACTLY WHAT happened outside Chung Ou Yang's fruit and vegetable market in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn on August 27. Chung said his wife found a woman stealing a piece of food and tried to stop her, but for her efforts wound up on the sidewalk while the woman pummelled her from above. Sonny Carson, a black nationalist since the '60s, says it was the Koreans who falsely accused the woman, beat her for no reason and then beat up her 64-year-old mother who was standing nearby as well.

But whatever the disagreement, there is no arguing over the consequences. Since Monday, September 12, when Chung reopened his store after a two-week hiatus, 30 to 100 blacks have massed outside his store eight hours a day, six days a week. They obstruct the entrance, pass out leaflets and urge people not to go in. They hurl insults and threats at Chung and his employees. And they vow never to go away until the Koreans are out of Bed-Stuy.

Not just these Koreans but all Korean merchants who, in the last decade or so, have flowed into Brooklyn and New York's other four boroughs in increasing numbers. "We are 99 percent of the community, yet we own nothing," declares a middle-aged man haranguing the crowd with a bullhorn. "Black merchants must sell in the street, but these people come on Sunday, and by Monday they're in business taking our money and sucking our blood."

"Shoulda listened to Hitler": "Every day the Koreans spray their produce with raid," proclaims another boycott leader, a woman. A young man on a bike pauses just long enough to yell "Korean motherfuckers!" "We shoulda listened to Hitler, 'cause Hitler said kill 'em all," shouts an older woman before picking up her shopping bags and walking off.

"Boycott, boycott," the picketers resume. "Close 'em down...pass 'em by...watch 'em cry...watch 'em die...Koreans out of Bed-Stuy!"

Conflicts between blacks and Orientals seem to be growing increasingly common in the '80s as inner-city economies continue to go downhill. Two years ago Hmong refugees from Laos fled by the hundreds from predominantly black West Philadelphia following a series of attacks by black teenagers. A rap record at the top of the charts in Philadelphia around the same time told of pulling a gun on a squeaky-voiced "chink." When the owner of a Chinese takeout restaurant pulled a gun on a black woman in the Anacostia section of Washington, D.C., a local black minister responded by declaring a boycott and saying of the Orientals, "Something is wrong if they can't speak my language...." In Harlem more recently the black weekly *Amsterdam News* has been trumpeting calls for a boycott of Korean businesses along 125th Street after an earlier effort petered out in 1985.

The only thing new about the latest upsurge in Bed-Stuy is that it takes place in a borough already known as an explosive racial battleground and one of the worst slums in the city. Politically, Bedford-Stuyvesant has long displaced Harlem as the center of black life in New York. It has given birth to several prominent black politicians such as Rep. Major Owens and State Assemblymen Al Vann and Roger Green, as well as to a fierce strain of black nationalism.



Since September 12 Chun Ou Yang's store in Bedford-Stuyvesant has been boycotted by local blacks.

New York's latest race rift pits blacks against Koreans

For ambitious Korean merchants with tiny grubstakes, it is also a place to open a business at a fraction of what it would cost in the more affluent sections of Manhattan. From only a sprinkling a few years ago, their numbers have grown to the point where they now account for 10 percent of the businesses along Fulton Street, the main shopping drag. As their numbers have grown, however, so has local resentment.

The boycott in Bed-Stuy also stands out because it seems unusually well-organized. If so, the credit (if that is the right word) belongs to Sonny Carson, one of the oldest and most experienced hands on the black political scene in Brooklyn. After a decade of obscurity, Carson has spent the last two years working on his political comeback.

New Yorkers with extremely long memories will recall Carson as the fiery leader of the Brooklyn chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) who, in 1967, announced that the government was planning to exterminate black people, and that, in response, he would begin accepting donations for a black agricultural settlement, a kind of fortress retreat, at an undisclosed location. (The settlement, of course, was never built.) In 1968 he led a separatist walk-out from CORE and went on to make a name for himself as an advocate for "community control" in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville teachers' strike.

Nineteen seventy-four brought a measure of fame when a feature film based on his autobiography, *The Education of Sonny Carson*, was released—and an equal measure of notoriety when he was convicted on kidnapping charges stemming from his "citizen's arrest" of two men he believed were stealing from a hotel he managed in Brooklyn. The two men later turned up dead and, although he was acquitted of their murder, Carson dropped from sight. He later turned up in Liberia where, as he told the *New York Times*, he helped set up a network of army post exchanges for Samuel Doe, the local dictator.

In 1986 Carson reappeared on the New York political scene, launching an organization he called Black Men Against Crack and joining forces with Rev. Al Sharpton, Vernon Mason and Alton Maddox to organize the December 21 "Day of Outrage" last year in

response to the racially inspired killing of a young black in Howard Beach.

Following the revelation that Sharpton had served as an FBI informant, the reverend and Carson parted company. Without Sharpton and his phenomenal ability to grab the lime-light, Carson and his organization seemed to drift.

The breaking point: Then came the August 27 incident on Fulton Street, an altercation that would have been lost amid the general chaos of Bedford-Stuyvesant were it not for the racial lineup. According to Chung, the incident was a minor confrontation that got spectacularly out of hand. As he tells it, it began when his wife tried to stop a 34-year-old black woman, identified by the police as Paula Clark, from making off with a piece of dried codfish. The Korean woman grabbed the bag, he said, but then the black woman took out a plastic bottle of laundry detergent and began wielding it like a club. Meanwhile, the woman's mother, Ivy King, grabbed a knife out of the hands of a Korean worker who was slicing watermelon and advanced threateningly.

The woman was disarmed, and within seconds the cops came, took down names but made no arrests, and called for ambulances to take two of the women to the hospital. (Both were treated for minor injuries and released.) But the incident was hardly over. An angry crowd started to form. Carson arrived on the scene in short order to accuse the Koreans of behaving brutally and suggesting, as he later put it, that Chung "might want to keep his store closed until the community held a meeting to decide what to do." According to the merchants, his supporters fanned out on Fulton Street, advising other shopkeepers to do the same.

Carson, who says that the target is not Koreans per se, but "these petty-bourgeois imitations of what Koreans are supposed to be," takes no responsibility for the initial decision to shut Chung's shop. Rather, he told *In These Times*, it was "the general community, the general population, that rose up and collectively closed the motherfucker down. I just came along and helped put some structure in it."

When Chung tried to open two days later, "people were really outraged," said Carson,

and the storekeeper closed again. He stayed closed until September 12, when the other Korean merchants on Fulton asked him to reconsider. In Chung's absence, they were feeling the heat from roving picketers, and they needed someone to serve as a focus for anti-Korean sentiment while they went about some semblance of their daily business.

No sale: Chung willingly obliged. Every morning since, he opens his shop, surveys the displays of yams, potatoes, greens, pickled pigs' feet and dried fish to make sure everything is in order, then retreats behind his cash register to wait. And wait and wait and wait. From 9 a.m. to 5 p.m., he does virtually no business. While a dozen or so cops stand by, the pickets mass in front of his doorway, obstruct the entrance and pass out leaflets charging the Koreans with being "part of a general conspiracy by the U.S. government to keep the Black Communities [sic] Economic life in disruption and controlled elsewhere." On a recent Saturday, a lone black man passed out crudely typed sheets decrying the "foreign invasion" and warning that Koreans are rising to success on "your money, apathy and lack of ambition and vision."

"Look around, black folk," the leaflet said. "Everywhere are Koreans and Arabs operating businesses in our community."

Among other Korean shopkeepers up and down Fulton, the mood is hardly less glum. While Carson's forces rally outside, they watch and wait inside, trying to figure out their next move, wondering when it will all blow over. Most are bitter and fearful. Harassed by burglars, shoplifters and crack dealers, and now by fierce racial hostility, several said they would gladly sell if only they could find a buyer.

"They say all Koreans go, businesses must go, but if I go, who will take care of my wife and my old mother and kid?" said one grocer. "I live in Brooklyn eight year, on Utica

URBAN PROBLEMS

Avenue in Flatbush—no problem. But [Bedford-Stuyvesant] is the worst area. This is the worst place in the world. I think Harlem is worst, but my [black] workers say no, this is 10 times worse place."

Another merchant agrees. The picketers were "black Nazis," he said. "Sure, why not? What different? They say because [of] one person, all must move away."

Not everyone in Bed-Stuy is anti-Korean, of course. A subway worker encountered outside a Korean-owned shop volunteered that "prejudice, you know, is a dirty game," that Koreans are "OK with me," and that until the boycott, "I never heard of anything before with these people."

Then there is a young, slightly built man named David Rogers, who has the dubious distinction these days of being Chung Ou Yang's sole black employee. The object of almost constant threats and taunts from the picketers, Rogers smiles a lot and somehow manages to keep his composure.

"They hassle me a lot, but they're not helping to pay my rent," he said one afternoon. "And I been knowing this man [Chung] for a long time. They say he's not polite, but he shows his customers the utmost respect. He answers them 'yes, sir,' and 'no, sir,' 'yes, ma'am and 'no, ma'am.'"

"I know he's a good man and what they say is false," he added. "I believe him more than I believe them." □

Dan Lazare is *In These Times*' correspondent in New York.

Debate

Continued from page 3

stead, Dukakis wants to mandate benefits through businesses. This approach, however, scares small businesses and doesn't affect the laid-off worker in Houston or the long-term unemployed.

He advocates a complex housing program that attempts to use non-profit developers to skirt the past failures of public housing. But in the debate Bush implied that Dukakis favored the kind of large urban developments like the infamous Pruitt Igoe project in St. Louis. Some of these developments have become the focus of crime and racial conflict. Bush sensed an opening, particularly among Reagan Democrats. "We're not going to do it in that old liberal way of trying to build more bricks and mortars [sic]," he said. "Go out and take a look at St. Louis." The day after the debate Bush was still trumpeting the differences between his own and Dukakis' approach.

But Dukakis put Bush on the defensive when the two candidates were asked about their plans for reducing the deficit. While Bush has proposed a vague "flexible freeze," he has also called for a reduction on capital gains taxes that would cost the federal government several billion dollars a year in lost revenues. Dukakis charged that Bush would be forced to raid the Social Security trust fund in order to bring down the deficit.

Dukakis' charge has no more or less merit than Bush's charge that Dukakis, if elected, would raise taxes. But it has the political merit of making Bush's fiscal policy, rather than Dukakis', the issue. Bush will now have to say how his flexible freeze could work.

The candidates also disagreed sharply about spending for the Reagan administration's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) or "Star Wars." But these differences were muted by the candidates' prior shifts and turns on this issue. After having opted for early SDI deployment at the Republican convention, Bush subsequently expressed skepticism about SDI's feasibility to the *New York Times*. Meanwhile, Dukakis, who had adamantly opposed SDI at the Democratic convention, hinted after a meeting with Georgia Sen. Sam Nunn that he might favor eventual deployment. Yet during the debate, both candidates insisted they had not had a "change of heart."

Radical individualists: The most heated exchanges between the candidates predictably took place on issues over which a president has little control. In both his opening and closing remarks, Bush suggested that the real question facing voters was one of "values."

He reiterated his attacks on Dukakis for vetoing a Pledge of Allegiance bill, furloughing convicted murderers, opposing capital punishment and being a "card-carrying member" of the controversial American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU).

Dukakis was clearly waiting for Bush to introduce the Pledge of Allegiance issue. Appearing indignant, he accused Bush of "questioning my patriotism." He then called on Bush to address the "issues that affect the vast majority of Americans—jobs, schools, health care, housing, the environment." But Dukakis ignored Bush's charge that Dukakis favored the ACLU's defense of pornography and its stand against any civic religious display and against tax exemption for the Cath-

olic Church.

Dukakis still does not understand why these issues resonate. Historian Fred Siegel argues that the controversies over the Pledge of Allegiance and the ACLU are about whether communities, neighborhoods or nations can have "shared values." To many working-class Americans, Siegel suggests, the ACLU appears to be "radical individualists" unconcerned about common values.

Dukakis tried to counterattack by casting doubts on Bush's "judgment" in selecting Sen. Dan Quayle for his running mate, in assenting to the arms-for-hostages deal with Iran and in dealing with a "drug-running Panamanian dictator." Bush parried the Iran and Noriega charges fairly well. "I will take all the blame for those two incidents if you will give me half the credit for all the good things that have happened in world peace since Ronald Reagan and I took over from the Carter administration," Bush said.

But Bush stumbled in trying to defend his choice of Quayle as well as in trying to explain his support for the anti-abortion lobby's draconian constitutional amendment, which would make fetuses legal persons and women who have abortions murderers. His campaign was forced the next day to offer a clarification: Bush would jail doctors, not mothers.

Neither candidate won the debate, but Dukakis is clearly better off than he was in the two weeks after the Republican convention. His performance in Winston-Salem, combined with his introduction the week before of thoughtful, if flawed, domestic programs, has altered the terrain of the campaign.

Dukakis still must find a way of countering Bush on "values," but Bush must now begin to counter Dukakis with some economic programs of his own. If the first of these—Bush's piddling "individual savings accounts" that he announced last week—is any indication, Dukakis may be in for a good October. □

The debate from Mississippi's perspective

Michael Dukakis does not have a chance to carry Mississippi. If you'll pardon the code words, he's too liberal for most whites and too conservative for most blacks. Even his supporters in the state display a lack of enthusiasm for his candidacy. This was evident after the debate.

Tiffany Tyson, a junior at Delta State in Cleveland, is one of the few Dukakis supporters on this predominately white campus. But Tyson, the editor of the school newspaper, the *Delta Statement*, is bored and disgusted with the campaign. She didn't find anything interesting in the

debate. "I started watching it, and I saw they weren't saying anything new, so I turned it off," she said.

Mike Alexander is a field representative for Rep. Mike Espy and ran Rev. Jesse Jackson's successful primary campaign here. Alexander thought Dukakis "pussey-footed" around the issues in the debate. "He was trying to jab Bush, when he should have knocked him out of the room," he said. "If Jesse had been there, it would have been a lot different. Bush wouldn't have gotten away with anything." —J.B.J.

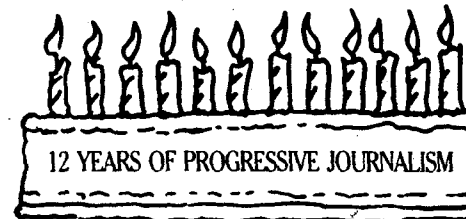
U.S. Postal Service STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685		
1A. TITLE OF PUBLICATION IN THESE TIMES		1B. PUBLICATION NO. 0 1 6 0 5 9 2
2. DATE OF FILING 10/5/88		3A. NO. OF ISSUES PUBLISHED ANNUALLY 41
3. FREQUENCY OF ISSUE Weekly, except the first week of January, third week of March, and last week of November; bi-weekly June through first week in September		3B. ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION PRICE \$34.95
4. COMPLETE MAILING ADDRESS OF KNOWN OFFICE OF PUBLICATION (Street, City, County, State and ZIP+4 Code) (Not printers)		
1300 West Belmont, Chicago, (Cook Co.), IL 60657-3278		
5. COMPLETE MAILING ADDRESS OF THE HEADQUARTERS OF GENERAL BUSINESS OFFICES OF THE PUBLISHER (Not printer)		
1300 West Belmont, Chicago, (Cook Co.), IL 60657-3278		
6. FULL NAMES AND COMPLETE MAILING ADDRESS OF PUBLISHER, EDITOR, AND MANAGING EDITOR (This item MUST NOT be blank)		
PUBLISHER (Name and Complete Mailing Address) James Weinstein, 1300 West Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657-3278		
EDITOR (Name and Complete Mailing Address) James Weinstein, 1300 West Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657-3278		
MANAGING EDITOR (Name and Complete Mailing Address) Sheryl Larson, 1300 West Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657-3278		
7. OWNER (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given. If the publication is published by a nonprofit organization, its name and address must be stated.) (Item must be completed.)		
FULL NAME Institute for Public Affairs (non-profit org.)		
COMPLETE MAILING ADDRESS 1300 West Belmont Chicago, IL 60657-3278		
8. KNOWN BONDHOLDERS, MORTGAGEES, AND OTHER SECURITY HOLDERS OWNING OR HOLDING 1 PERCENT OR MORE OF TOTAL AMOUNT OF BONDS, MORTGAGES OR OTHER SECURITIES (If there are none, so state)		
NONE		
9. FOR COMPLETION BY NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS AUTHORIZED TO MAIL AT SPECIAL RATES (Section 423.12 DMM only) The purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for Federal income tax purposes (Check one)		
(1) HAS NOT CHANGED DURING PRECEDING 12 MONTHS <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (2) HAS CHANGED DURING PRECEDING 12 MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> (If changed, publisher must submit explanation of change with this statement.)		
10. EXTENT AND NATURE OF CIRCULATION (See instructions on reverse side)	AVERAGE NO. COPIES EACH ISSUE DURING PRECEDING 12 MONTHS	ACTUAL NO. COPIES OF SINGLE ISSUE PUBLISHED NEAREST TO FILING DATE
A. TOTAL NO. COPIES (Not Press Run)	29,750	38,200
B. PAID AND/OR REQUESTED CIRCULATION 1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales	2,200	2,450
2. Mail Subscription (Paid and/or requested)	24,950	32,469
C. TOTAL PAID AND/OR REQUESTED CIRCULATION (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2)	27,150	34,919
D. FREE DISTRIBUTION BY MAIL, CARRIER OR OTHER MEANS SAMPLES, COMPLIMENTARY, AND OTHER FREE COPIES	1,500	1,870
E. TOTAL DISTRIBUTION (Sum of C and D)	28,650	36,789
F. COPIES NOT DISTRIBUTED 1. Office use, left over, unsold, spoiled after printing	600	581
2. Return from News Agents	500	830
G. TOTAL (Sum of E, F1 and 2—should equal net press run shown in A)	29,750	38,200
11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete		
SIGNATURE AND TITLE OF EDITOR, PUBLISHER, BUSINESS MANAGER, OR OWNER		

PS Form 3526, Dec. 1985

(See instruction on reverse)

IN THESE TIMES

Celebrate



12 YEARS OF PROGRESSIVE JOURNALISM

Please show your support by filling out the coupon below. Your participation is essential to our continued success—whether it's words of appreciation for our work or words of promotion for yours. You can print your message on the reverse side of the coupon, which we will typeset, or you can send a camera-ready mechanical. Our deadline is October 21, 1988, but we'll gladly reserve space before then. If we can assist you in any way please don't hesitate to call our advertising office at 312/472-5700.

In These Times
1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657

12th ANNIVERSARY RATE CARD AND ORDER FORM

Please reserve the following space:

	Cost	W x H
<input type="checkbox"/> Full Page	\$2400	10 1/2 x 14
<input type="checkbox"/> Half Page	1300	10 1/2 x 7
<input type="checkbox"/> Junior Page	1450	7 1/2 x 10
<input type="checkbox"/> Third Page	900	10 1/2 x 4 1/4
<input type="checkbox"/> Quarter Page	750	4 1/4 x 7
<input type="checkbox"/> Eighth Page	390	4 1/4 x 3 1/2
<input type="checkbox"/> Sixteenth Page	225	2 1/4 x 3 1/2
<input type="checkbox"/> Thirty-second Page	115	2 1/4 x 2
<input type="checkbox"/> Organizational Greeting	90	
<input type="checkbox"/> Individual Greeting	30	

Deadline for ads is October 21, 1988.

Yes! I want to celebrate 12 years of progressive journalism with IN THESE TIMES.

☐ I have enclosed payment.
☐ Please bill me.

Attach ad copy

Name: _____
Address: _____
State/City/Zip: _____
Phone: _____

Please return to IN THESE TIMES, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657. 312/472-5700.

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

YASSIR ARAFAT'S RECENT VISIT TO STRASBOURG split French Socialists and demonstrated how French Mideast policy is currently paralyzed by domestic politics.

The French Jewish population—estimated at 535,000—is the largest in Western Europe and the fourth largest in the world, after Israel, the U.S. and the Soviet Union. While American Jews' support for Israel has been becoming more critical as a result of events in the Occupied Territories, French Jews' support has apparently been growing more uncritical, but for reasons that mainly have to do with French domestic politics and the evolution of the Jewish community in France.

During his recent visit to the Socialist Group at the European Parliament in Strasbourg, Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) leader Arafat dodged the question as to which Israeli leader seemed best suited to make peace, Yitzhak Shamir or Shimon Peres. "I'm looking for a de Gaulle in Israel," Arafat said.

What Arafat had in mind was undoubtedly the Charles de Gaulle who braved the assassination attempts of die-hard officers to grant Algeria independence. While Arafat may have hoped to please the French, his choice of de Gaulle as model was unlikely to delight the conservative Jewish groups who vehemently opposed his presence in Strasbourg.

In fact, by making peace in Algeria, de Gaulle lost much of the support he had won from politically conservative Jews by his leadership of the Free French against Nazi occupation. De Gaulle rightly saw that France's development was being retarded by its anachronistic efforts to hold onto its colonial empire. His "peace of the brave" enabled normal relations to develop between France and independent Algeria. It was an incomparably better model of conflict resolution than the vengeful boycott inflicted by the U.S. on Vietnam. But in ending the war in Algeria, de Gaulle also ended a cooperation with Israel so close that the defense establishments of the two countries were approaching unofficial merger. Some never forgave him for this.

Historic roots: The Franco-Israeli alliance had been forged quite naturally after World War II, initially inspired mainly by sympathy for the survivors of Nazi genocide. It took on a more military character as French leaders interpreted the Algerian uprising as part of the same Arab nationalist conspiracy, led by Egypt's Abdel Nasser, that threatened Israel. France gave Israel decisive help in building its nuclear potential.

There were more distant historic roots for the alliance. In 1870 France granted French citizenship to Jews in French Algeria. Such favored treatment made the Algerian Jews loyal supporters of France while fanning Arab resentment.

After Algeria and other North African countries won independence, a large part of their Jewish populations moved to France. This influx of Sephardic Jews brought with them a culture centering on traditional religious practice and Jewish community life. This contrasted sharply with the predominant culture of French Ashkenazi Jews, largely won over to the rationalist values of the French Revolution that had granted equal rights to Jewish citizens.

The growth of the North African Sephardic



National Front's Jean-Marie Le Pen claims he is a victim of a "cosmopolitan mafia."

France leaves Mideast peace initiatives to U.S.

population has shifted the balance in France away from France's traditionally highly individualized and politicized Jewish population toward a more American-style ethnic group. Essentially self-absorbed, the community

DIPLOMACY

supports Israel uncritically as an extension of itself, without the historic and political subtlety of earlier generations of French Jewish intellectuals.

The growth of a conservative Jewish community has been reinforced by a certain return to traditional piety, part of a current trend in all countries and religions.

Many French Jews were silently embarrassed by the over-reaction of the organized Jewish community to Arafat's trip to Strasbourg. The community's umbrella CRIF (*Conseil Représentatif des Institutions Juives de France*) put a full-page ad in *Le Monde* newspaper insinuating that Arafat was responsible for "the dead and wounded of the rue Copernic," the rue de Rennes and other unsolved terrorist bombings in Paris. This was a totally unjustified insinuation, as Arafat's PLO has never been implicated in any of those terrorist bombings.

Not facing the truth: French Socialists know these facts quite well. But many of them, like former Defense Minister Charles Hernu (the man behind French intelligence's sinking of Greenpeace's ship, *Rainbow Warrior*), opposed a visit by Arafat that would "upset the Jewish Community in France"—especially only 10 days before local elections. Politicians rushed to get into the photographs of protesting leaders of the Alsatian Jewish community.

CRIF President Théo Klein's heavy attempt at sarcasm, suggesting that Arafat could give

the European Parliament's anti-terrorism committee "expert advice," coincided with articles commemorating the assassination 40 years ago of U.N. mediator Count Folke Bernadotte, which put an end to the only serious effort ever made to find a fair solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It is no secret that the leader of the group that assassinated Count Bernadotte was the current Israeli premier, Yitzhak Shamir.

Other European Socialists complained of French Socialist efforts to block the Arafat visit, conceived as a way to promote Israeli-Palestinian dialogue.

Their timidity seems to have something to do with the semi-paralysis of most political discussion in France recently, as media and economic interests hammer away the message that left-right conflicts are over and France needs a political "center," especially to fit into the unified European Common Market of the '90s. But even the death of ideology needs an ideology, and anti-racism, especially anti-anti-Semitism, is the best available ideological glue to hold together the Socialists and conservatives who call themselves centrists.

It is characteristic of Parisian political

French Jews' support of Israeli policies has been growing more uncritical, mainly because of domestic politics and the Jewish community's evolution.

fashions to pay more attention to the symbolic issues of the past than to the live issues of the present. The Palestinians' troubles intrude on the focus on anti-Semitism necessitated by the rearrangement of the domestic French political landscape. Conservative on most issues but highly sensitive to racism, the Jewish community, with its publications and influence, naturally backs a "center" defined solely in terms of opposition to far rightist Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front.

The role of catalyst to a new "center" offers Le Pen his one big chance—if he doesn't self-destruct first.

To stay notorious, he has to escalate the grossness. After the Arafat visit, Le Pen scandalized fellow members of the European Parliament by calling Socialist Group leader Rudi Arndt "a pro-Arab pedophile, with sadistic tendencies."

Le Pen got headlines in early September with a stupid pun, gratuitously tagging the emotionally charged word "crematorium" onto the name of a centrist minister whose name has the French word for "oven" (*four*) in it (Michel Durafour).

Some of the opportunists who joined the National Front when it was seeking respectability began heading for the exit. Expelled from the National Front for criticizing the "crematorium" pun, François Bachelot said it was not a slip but part of a deliberate political strategy to revive the nationalist right against the "anti-France" made up of the Jewish, Free Mason and media "lobbies."

Le Pen confirmed this with a virulent speech at his party's "red, white and blue" festival at Bourget on September 18, attacking the "cosmopolitan plot" to enslave the world. Le Pen called on the French to "isolate" the agents of "the most formidable enterprise of human slavery ever launched on the world after Nazism and communism."

Posing as a victim of a "cosmopolitan mafia" for his heroic defense of France, Le Pen grotesquely claimed that "it is we who are treated today as the Jews were treated in Germany. Will the cosmopolitan mafia go so far as to make us wear the tricolor star?"

Most Jews are patriots, said Le Pen. He warned the "large majority of patriotic Jews" not to fall into the "trap" set by "cosmopolitan subversion," which is trying "to arouse the Jewish community against the National Front and against the idea of the nation." The plot wants to "take advantage of the fact that a large number of members of that community occupy eminent positions in French society, in particular in the field of information, the press, cinema, television...."

Future shock? More clearly than ever, Le Pen is speculating on a political and economic crisis in France to create a public for a discourse that today, fortunately, sounds like an unpleasant echo from a buried past. The National Front has no chance of major success—unless, for instance, the much-heralded free movement of capital in the European Community wipes out a large proportion of small French businesses, triggering a dramatic depression. Economists are beginning to worry that precisely something like that could happen.

With such unknowns on the horizon, it would be overly optimistic to dismiss a revival of anti-Semitism as impossible. The problem is that a politically naive Jewish community, when sensing such a danger, may react simply by reaffirming its identification with

Continued on page 22

By Steven Watsky

BATON ROUGE, LA.

UNTIL A FEW YEARS AGO A MAN COULD BE arrested in this state if found in the company of a single woman in a closed room with his shoes off; it was called statutory rape. Yet the same state that would arrest someone for having his shoes off has looked the other way as industry has raped and pillaged the state's fragile and productive coastal environment over the years.

You remember Louisiana, don't you? That's where there is an abnormally high rate of cancer and miscarriages in the petrochemical corridor between Baton Rouge and New Orleans. That's where pollution monitors in the capital city show dangerous levels of junk in the air almost every week. And that's where there are five cases of neuroblastomas—an insidious form of childhood cancer—in the roughneck oil town of Morgan City.

Morgan City, located a few miles from the Gulf of Mexico, is known as a brawling, wild city that, like many along Louisiana's coast, is not as much part of America as it is a byzantine state unto itself. But the oil bust knocked the wind out of Morgan City, and as the exodus began, signs went up reading: "Will the last one out please turn off the lights?"

Into this desperate town came Jack Kent, a good ol' boy from Fluker, La., with the promise of jobs and a new growth industry for Morgan City.

Kent owns Marine Shale Processors, which, depending on whom you believe, is either the company that will dig the U.S. out of its toxic waste cesspool or just another firm that is raping Louisiana's environment.

Remember the New York garbage that no one wanted? Jack Kent wanted it. Said he could dispose of those rotting bedpans, infected syringes and other sundry refuse, and could make stuff out of it that was "cleaner than dirt."

Kent and Marine Shale Processors, by their own estimates, are the largest handlers of hazardous waste in the U.S. This year alone they expect to gross between \$40 million and \$60 million by getting rid of waste. But they don't incinerate hazardous waste and bury the still-hazardous ash in landfills like most of their competitors. Instead they "re-cycle" it into aggregate, a fill material they say is perfectly suitable for road-bed material or concrete.

Therein lies the story: Federal hazardous waste laws seek to encourage recycling, energy recovery and other beneficial uses of wastes by exempting from the strictest regulations facilities that produce a safe, commercial product. As a "recycler" under the 1976 Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA), the company has a huge advantage over typical toxic waste incinerators. The hundreds of other plants that burn hazardous wastes are subject to one set of federal standards for air and water emissions. Not Marine Shale. Other plants must follow a time-consuming and difficult "delisting" procedure proving that its ash is not hazardous before it can be sold rather than buried in an approved landfill. Marine Shale can stockpile and sell its end product.

Thus unburdened, the company can charge cheaper rates to incinerate hazardous wastes. Its prices of \$100-\$200 a ton are about a third of those charged by a typical incinerator like Rollins Environmental Services in Baton Rouge.

Tulane University environmental law professor Oliver Houck suggests that a simple

12 IN THESE TIMES OCT. 5-11, 1988

WASTING LOUISIANA

Jack Kent wants your toxins



economic analysis of the company's huge revenues makes a mockery of its claim that its aggregate is a commercially viable product of recycling. Of the company's estimated gross revenues of \$13 million last year, only about \$100,000 came from selling the aggregate. The overwhelming majority of its money came from accepting and disposing of hazardous wastes.

The market for the questionable aggregate appears small. One of its clients is a contractor with ties to Marine Shale and Rep. Trent Lott (R-MS), who has written favorable letters to the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) on Marine Shale's behalf. In other cases, the aggregate has been hauled to sites to sop up toxic waste like a sponge and then returned to the plant for further "recycling."

The aggregate itself, which is supposed to be safe, passed a simple test showing that no toxic substances leached into water after 24 hours. The test, however, did not determine whether all the aggregate has the same content given the wide mix of wastes, or whether the aggregate breaks down over a longer period of time or in the presence of substances other than water.

Critics worry that Marine Shale's shrewd manipulation of the "recycler" classification in federal laws—designed to encourage true recycling of basic resources, not the production of a questionable aggregate—may prompt other waste merchants to pursue sham recycling. One company, calling itself Zytech Inc., has applied for two such facilities north of Baton Rouge, and another, Disposal Control Systems, is trying to build one in Nevada.

A report by Houck concluded that Marine Shale "may hold significant promise as an incinerator," but it "may also present a significant risk to human health and the environment through discharges, primarily airborne, but also potentially into the ground-water and surface waters. There are indications that Marine Shale's facility is able to incinerate at least some hazardous materials with a high degree of efficiency. There are other indications that it has been operated, at least in some regards, with a degree of carelessness that hazardous waste operations, however characterized, can ill afford."

The few investigations of Marine Shale show why. Visits and tests revealed escaping fumes, odors and organic pollutants in the air and violations of their permit, according to the Houck report. The plant's operation spurred complaints of noxious odors from nearby residents who had to leave their homes and from businesses that were required to close. Samples of aquatic organisms and sediments from the bottom of two adjacent bayous showed high levels of oil, grease, cadmium, chromium and mercury.

It's not surprising that Kent and Marine Shale got their start in Louisiana—*laissez les bon temps rouler* Louisiana (let the good times roll)—where politicians are cheap, laws are negotiable and regulatory officials sometimes look the other way.

Like many oil-patch folks in Morgan City, Jack Kent made his fast fortune in oil-field supplies and just as quickly went bust in the early '80s when world oil prices plummeted.

Ex-employees say Kent was at the end of his financial rope in 1983. They tell the story of phones being disconnected at Kent's operation in the Morgan City area. It was so bad, they say, that Kent had workers build an awning over the pay phone outside the office where salespeople conducted their business.

Kent even went to a Baton Rouge bank seeking a \$13.5 million loan, and he got \$7.5 million. Four years later, the bank's president

and a businessman are now in jail for loan fraud in connection with that transaction. Within 15 months of receiving the loan, Kent bought an old lime plant in Amelia, just outside Morgan City.

Hard as a rock: Kent told the Louisiana Department of Environmental Quality he had a great idea to dispose of oil-field wastes that for years had been dumped in open pits: recycle them into a benign aggregate.

To do this, Kent's process called for the waste to be run through a kiln at temperatures as high as 2,500 degrees Fahrenheit for up to two hours. At that temperature, Marine Shale's literature claims, contaminants are oxidized and rendered virtually harmless. What harmful vapors and contaminants are not destroyed in the first process go into a second chamber, where the material is heated to 2,000 degrees. What is left, according to Marine Shale, is a harmless rock-like substance. The company said its process is much cleaner than conventional incineration methods, which create air pollution, force the incinerator to dispose of the ash in landfills and leave the original manufacturer of the waste liable for any later cleanup or environmental problems.

In 1985 the state issued Marine Shale a permit to "recycle" oil-field waste. When Marine Shale began operations in earnest in 1985, it almost immediately began accepting hazardous waste—in direct violation of its state-granted recycling permit to get rid of oil-field waste. The state shut down the facility for 10 days and said Marine Shale would need new permits. Then-Environmental Quality Secretary Pat Norton says she opposed granting a hazardous waste disposal permit to Marine Shale, but a third party intervened: Gov. Edwin Edwards.

Norton says Edwards called her to the governor's mansion and, as Kent and Marine Shale attorney George Badge Eldredge—former head of Environmental Quality's legal division—looked on, ordered her to grant the permit. Norton said in 1987—after she had been fired by Edwards in part for her resistance to granting the permit—that she would not have done it "if the governor had not called me so many times, and Eldredge and Kent had not called me so many times...."

Kent gave Edwards \$45,000 in campaign contributions in December 1983—four months after Kent had secured the \$7.5 million loan and after Edwards had been re-elected.

Norton reluctantly signed a permit that gave Marine Shale "interim" status—that is, it recognized that the facility was operating when the old, less stringent regulations were in effect and did not make Marine Shale subject to the more rigorous new regulations on transporting, receiving, storing and disposing of hazardous wastes. The EPA has questioned this favored status because Marine Shale was not supposed to be receiving hazardous wastes at the time.

But with a state permit in hand that ignored that sticky issue, Marine Shale began accepting some of the most toxic wastes found on Earth.

Because the company was a "recycler," charged less and did not have to justify how it disposed of the waste, its customer base expanded from 52 in 1986 to more than 2,000 in 1988, including 100 of the Fortune 500 corporations. Such clients as Amoco, Conoco, Masonite, the state of Florida, Uniroyal and the U.S. Department of Energy eagerly shipped their wastes to the plant. The same permit that designated Marine Shale as a "recycler" also meant that companies shipping to the plant could not be held liable if their wastes later caused environmental problems.

Within a few years, Marine Shale grew to

become arguably the nation's largest handler of hazardous waste. But the growth was not without obstacles. Marine Shale was cited numerous times by local, state and federal officials for pollution violations. But each time, instead of correcting the problems under threat of fines or closure, the company remained open and grew larger, taking in more wastes.

Ex-employees charge that the company was dumping some of its waste into Bayou Bouef, then dumping laundry detergent and lime onto the substances to sink it to the bottom of the waterway, where it would not be detected by Environmental Quality water tests.

The plant was slapped with a three-part compliance order in August 1985, which, among other things, charged Marine Shale with discharging hazardous waste into the ground and water. The plant disputed the charge and the waste continued to burn.

At about the same time that the company began accepting hazardous wastes, children in the Morgan City area began developing neuroblastoma—a rare form of childhood cancer that scientists are at a loss to explain. There have been five known cases of neuroblastoma in the area—well above the national average—with two deaths reported.

In a letter dated June 16, Eldredge wrote the governor's office saying that the company could not be responsible for the cancer because "...all the known neuroblastoma cases developed before Marine Shale started handling recyclable hazardous materials."

But according to a report from a pediatric cancer specialist, the first known cases appeared in 1986—a year after Marine Shale began handling hazardous waste. Marine Shale also commissioned a study of the neuroblastoma outbreak this year, and concluded in part that it could not be the cause of the cancer because none of the children lives downwind from the plant.

The study drew guffaws from the National Weather Service, which says prevailing winds are from the northwest in winter and southeast in summer, and not from the west, as the Marine Shale study claimed.

In addition, the company that did the study—Enviologic Data—is a wholly owned subsidiary of Groundwater Technologies, a company that has a \$750,000 contract with Marine Shale to install air-quality monitoring equipment.

The state also is conducting its own investigation into the cancer cases, but warns the study probably won't pinpoint a cause because of the rarity of the disease.

Sooner or later: So far Marine Shale has led a charmed life, but its luck may have changed when Edwards was trounced in his bid for a fourth term as governor. In his place came Buddy Roemer, a reform candidate who promised to move Louisiana into mainstream American politics and mores.

As part of a promise to clean up Louisiana, the new administration introduced legislation in March to reclassify Marine Shale as a hazardous waste disposal facility—making it subject to the tougher state and federal laws. Marine Shale said it welcomed the new regulations because the process was so safe and clean that it could meet any new rules. Company officials looked on as both a House committee and the full lower chamber passed the bill unanimously.

Then all hell broke loose.

Marine Shale officials said they had found a problem with the bill. When it came up in

Continued on page 22



EDITORIAL

IN THESE TIMES

"...with liberty and justice for all"

Editor: James Weinstein
 Managing Editor: Sheryl Larson
 Senior Editors: Patricia Aufderheide, John B. Judis, David Moberg
 Assistant Managing Editor: Miles Harvey
 Culture Editor: Jeff Reid
 Associate Editor: Salim Muwakkil
 European Editor: Diana Johnstone
 In Short Editor: Joel Bleifuss
 Copy Editor: Joan McGrath
 Editorial Promotions: Maggie Garb
 Intern: Reece L. Pendleton

Art Director: Miles DeCoster
 Associate Art Director: Peter Hannan
 Assistant Art Director: Lisa Weinstein
 Photo Editor: Paul Comstock
 Typesetter: Jim Rinnert

Publisher: James Weinstein
 Co-Business Managers:
 Louis Hirsch, Finance
 Donna Thomas, Data Processing/Accounting
 Advertising Director: Bruce Embrey
 Office Manager: Theresa Nutall

Circulation Director: Chris D'Arpa
 Assistant Director: Greg Kilbane

Concert Typographers: Sheryl Hybert



Welfare reform bill does nothing to end poverty

The number of people living in poverty in the U.S. has increased throughout Ronald Reagan's two terms in office. There are plenty of statistics to prove it, but anyone who lives in a large city doesn't need these statistics. The evidence is there on the streets for all—except those who block it out—to see. In this richest nation on Earth, homelessness, hunger and poor health are all on the rise, largely because of the social policies and priorities of the president and his managers.

Last week we examined the plight of the homeless and the recommendations of the National Academy of Sciences' Institute of Medicine report on the health problems of homeless people, which called for an increase in the minimum wage and in welfare payments, as well as broader eligibility, and the construction of affordable housing. And also last week a Senate-House conference committee came up with a compromise welfare reform bill ostensibly designed to address some problems of the poor. The bill, said its chief sponsor, Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY), "redefined the whole question of dependency." Welfare, he boasted, "is no longer to be a permanent or even extended circumstance. It is to be a transition to employment, and it is to be accompanied by child support from the absent parent." In short, according to Moynihan, the welfare problem will be solved by putting people to work.

Moynihan believes that the prospective bill will accomplish this by mandating that states provide welfare parents with job-search assistance, education and job training, as well as child care and transportation. In addition, the bill would require all states to provide welfare benefits for at least six months a year to households with two unemployed parents (only 27 states now do so), thereby eliminating the necessity in some states for families needing welfare to split up. And it would provide Medicaid and child care for a full year to those

who leave the welfare rolls. But the states would only be required to enroll 7 percent of their welfare recipients in education and training programs by 1990 and 20 percent by 1995.

These are very small steps in the direction of helping poor people help themselves. As such, they are better than nothing. But they were bought at the cost of agreeing to President Reagan's fraudulent "workfare" requirement, under which either a father or mother in a two-parent welfare family would have to perform 16 hours of "community service" a week. Only 5 percent of current welfare families have two parents—that percentage may increase if the bill is passed—and the work requirement doesn't take effect until 1994, when only 40 percent of the eligible families will be affected. This provision can be seen as merely symbolic, but as House Education and Labor Committee Chairman Augustus F. Hawkins (D-CA) says, the symbolism of this reminder of Victorian workhouses is more appropriately called "slavefare."

In fact, the welfare bill will help precious few people to get work, much less provide them with work. Its workfare provision is simply designed to humiliate the recipients while playing to the myth that people on welfare prefer it to working. If productive work were really the goal, the government could provide jobs at living wages on meaningful public projects.

Ironically, on the same day that the Senate-House conferees agreed on this bill, the Senate Budget Committee reported that half the new jobs created since 1980 paid wages below the poverty level, and Senate Democrats abandoned for now their attempt to raise the minimum wage. As Michael Dukakis has been charging, the Budget Committee found that the share of middle-wage jobs has decreased significantly during the Reagan years, while high-wage jobs increased somewhat and poverty-level jobs rapidly. And yet, despite a vague statement by George Bush that he would support an increase in the minimum wage, a Republican filibuster forced Senate Democrats to give up their year-long attempt to increase it. Raised to \$3.35 in 1977, it is now worth only \$2.60 in terms of that year's dollar. Many people working full time are now on welfare. Last week's events won't help them get off the rolls.

In These Times believes that to guarantee our life, liberty and pursuit of happiness; Americans must take greater control over our nation's basic economic and foreign policy decisions. We believe in a socialism that fulfills rather than subverts the promise of American democracy, where social needs and rationality, not corporate profit and greed, are the operative principles. Our pages are open to a wide range of views, socialist and non-socialist, liberal and conservative. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 472-5700

Member: Alternative Press Syndicate

The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright © 1988 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Copies of *In These Times* contract with the National Writers Union are available upon request. Complete issues of *In These Times* are available from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI. Selected articles are available on 4-track cassette from Freedom Ideas International, 640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217. All rights reserved. *In These Times* is indexed in the Alternative Press Index. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All correspondence should be sent to: *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657. Subscriptions are \$34.95 a year (\$59 for institutions; \$47.95 outside the U.S. and its possessions). Advertising rates sent on request. Back issues \$3; specify volume and number. All letters received by *In These Times* become property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054. This issue (Vol. 12, No. 38) published Oct. 5, 1988, for newsstand sales Oct. 5-11, 1988.

NATIONAL WRITERS UNION

CGU

LETTERS

Birdwatching

THE CASE OF J. DANFORTH QUAYLE III AVOIDING the Vietnam War is not at all unique among our warmongering class. Other famous examples among the "hawks" have survived and prospered by avoiding dangerous duty or any military service at all. Ronald Reagan, Elliott Abrams, Pat Buchanan, Pat Robertson and Sy "Rambo" Stallone are the more famous. The question now is, are they better labelled "hawks" or "chickens"? I favor the term "chicken-hawks" for their breed, using the hyphen to distinguish them from the similarly named feathered varieties. The important distinguishing feature of the "chicken-hawk," often obscured in the mass media, is the combination of avoiding danger for itself with promoting war and death for others not of its class.

Gordon C. Blaha
Cincinnati

Pros in Vietnam

ALEXANDER COCKBURN SAID IN HIS "ASHES AND Diamonds" column (ITT, Sept. 14) that only two professional athletes fought in Vietnam. He forgot Al Bumbry, former outfielder for the Baltimore Orioles.

Vivian Martin
Baltimore

Bush and Noriega

THE EVACUATION OF NON-ESSENTIAL CIVILIANS from the U.S. Embassy in Panama is a portent of another "October surprise." Apparently the Reagan administration and Bush team have been encouraged by the Democrats' indifference to their shenanigans (i.e., delaying the Iranians' release of U.S. hostages in exchange for arms sales commitments) in October 1980.

This time there will be no hostages when Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega is violently deposed and silenced through assassination. What those in the administration ignore is that if Noriega has half a brain, he probably will expose Bush's ties to the drug network and himself through memoirs or tapes in others' hands—to be published posthumously.

Furthermore, despite camouflage as to the operation's *Yanqui* sponsors and managers, much of Latin America will pinpoint Washington as the intervening imperial power.

Thus anti-American resentment will further erode our already minimal prestige and the confidence of peoples as well as governments in the region. Neither hemispheric leadership nor security is enhanced by such flagrant violations of the U.N. charter, international law and our own Constitution.

Prof. Miles D. Wolpin
State University of New York, Potsdam

On the outside

COME NOW, WAS THE CHICAGO CONVENTION RIOT of 1968 due to police "out of control?" I thought they knew perfectly well what Mayor Daley wanted! Your editorial (ITT, Sept. 7) expresses regret at the youthful riotous demonstrations. My regret while inside the convention was only that the demonstrators were not 10 times as numerous. We inside drew strength from those on the outside. Where were all the rest when we needed them? Safe at home! No wonder

their movement fell into the hands of crazies like the Weathermen.

I was at that convention as an alternate pledged to Gene McCarthy. The Johnson-Humphrey Democrats, true to the record of the Democrats as the party of war, did not hesitate to revel in their victory, even drowning out our anguished pleas with "The Halls of Montezuma." As for the youngsters, well, stay-at-homes or rioters, they were a TV generation. Instant victory was not to be had, so they gave up. They thus missed an opportunity. The Democratic Party, as is so often the case, existed in many places more on paper than in the wards and precincts. Large parts of it were there for the taking, but the anti-war youths were too busy nourishing their bruised egos. Not surprising, that. After all, they had come on the scene as a completely ahistorical, anti-historical movement, steeped in ageist prejudices. We of the "Old Left" not only had nothing to teach them, so they thought, we did not even exist! Right, center, left, we were all over 30 and therefore just so much shit!

I returned home (dazed and incoherent with rage for two weeks) hoping "the movement" would seize control of much of the Democratic Party at the grass roots and move on to build a popular New Left. Instead, it disappeared into thin air.

It seems to me the resistance to the system was much more solid and less ephemeral in the '30s. Its great mistake was Marxist sectarianism and the acquiescence of the Communist Party to directives from Stalin's *sanctum sanctorum*. For the rebels of the '60s only our mistakes were visible, but only as submerged in the mistakes of everyone over 30. The old idea of education, agitation and organization—still sound today—was not for them, because it required long-term commitment, especially to that third term, organization. In common with the capitalist class it so despised, the youngsters were hung up on worship of short-term efforts and immediate results.

The uprisings of the '60s should be treasured for slowing down the war effort. The lesson to be learned is not that the disturbances were a mistake, but that the anti-war youngsters refused to study the past, sifting out what was solid and essential from what was erroneous. Spontaneity is ignored at our peril, but uninformed spontaneity leads to disaster and changing the system requires life-long commitment.

Larry Wolf
Cincinnati

Dukes up

SO YOU THINK MICHAEL DUKAKIS IS A SLIME? I'M not arguing, but I think his election will make our lives easier. For me, voting is less

an ideological exercise than one of determining which candidate is most likely to commit inane criminal acts, thereby forcing me to write letters, demonstrate, attend meetings and otherwise waste my valuable leisure time. Last June I voted for Jesse Jackson. Now the choice is between the Greek and the Geek. Take a look at these issues.

Nuclear weapons: Dukakis is the only major party candidate ever to run with the stated position of being against *every* new strategic nuclear weapon system. He has embraced a variety of important ideas, including a ban on test flights of new missile systems. Don't be fooled by his posturing on Star Wars. He has always supported some sort of research. However, Dukakis' original intention, which he has not changed, is to reduce the Strategic Defense Initiative's budget by 80 percent with no money for deployment. Can he follow through on these positions? Rep. Les Aspin and Sen. Sam Nunn are the congressional Democratic defense gurus. If you want them pulled toward the right, don't vote and let George Bush win.

Central America: Dukakis is genuinely and passionately committed to non-intervention. When the Democrats decided to demonstrate their virility and pushed through a "beans and blankets" aid package to the contras, President Reagan vetoed it for being insufficiently violent. Dukakis was under severe pressure to support it. Instead, he vehemently denounced it. The reporter looked startled, as this normally cool man angrily poured forth lists of treaties and international laws violated by contra aid. If you want an ex-CIA director bombing Central America, let Bush win.

Abortion and civil liberties: The next president will get to choose three Supreme Court justices. This will transform the court into either a "moderate" conservative body, or a nest of goosestepping yahoos. If you want abortion illegal don't vote, let Bush win. If you want the next three judges picked by a card-carrying member of the American Civil Liberties Union, vote for Dukakis.

Dukakis is one of the most progressive candidates to ever have run for president. Do I trust Dukakis? Only to sell us out at any given opportunity. No matter who wins, we will be busy. Real political power rests not with the politicians, but with people like us. The need for political activity does not decrease with a Democratic administration.

William Finn
San Rafael, Calif.

Editor's note: No, we don't think Dukakis is slime, just that he's running a miserable campaign.

Sinking

FIND IT SADLY IRONIC THAT YOU RUN FINE ARTICLES criticizing our society's continued fetishization of women's bodies (ITT, Sept. 7) while Joel Bleifuss devotes much of his column quoting from *Playboy* magazine. We used to make jokes about the one guy in every crowd who was always quoting from *Playboy*, and what a jerk he was. Well, now the guy has become a crowd, and the creepy thing is that they are mostly on the left. Bleifuss (who does this rather frequently—he must have a subscription) has recently been joined by such *Playboy*-quoting writers as Christopher Hitchens in a recent issue of *The Nation*, and so-called "radicals" like Alexander Cockburn and now Abbie Hoffman have even published articles in it.

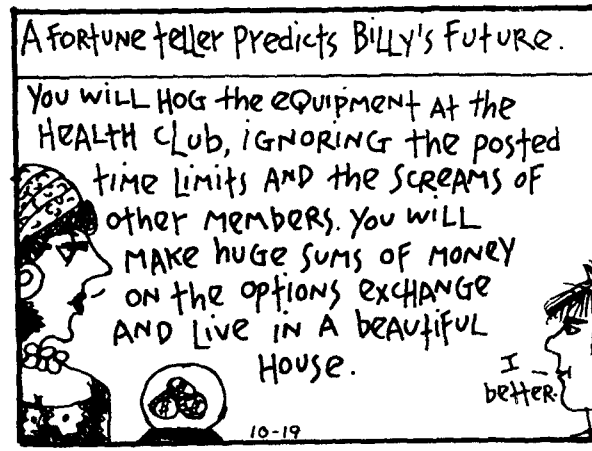
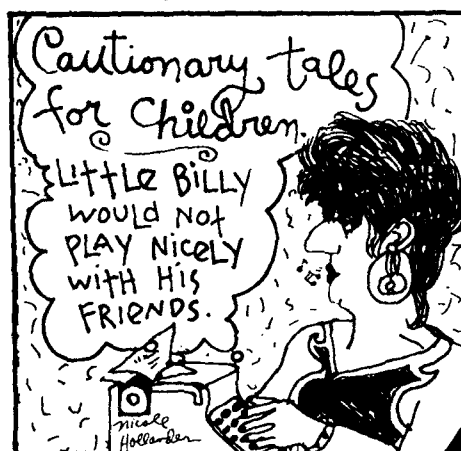
These are sexist and hypocritical acts coming from men who claim to be critics of capitalist patriarchy. Apparently, they believe their audience is 100 percent male and will not be offended by quotations from pornographic magazines. But this woman reader is angered, hurt and humiliated when the male writers I trust and respect (albeit falteringly) make references to the enterprise of Hefner and Hefner for any reason. Whether they intend to or not, they are legitimizing and endorsing the magazine and others like it; they are aiding and abetting the trade in women's bodies. They are smut peddlers.

In the meantime, the misery of the world's women increases. They sink deeper into abject poverty and face hunger, disease and mental illness in escalating numbers. They are beaten, raped and killed by men to an astonishing degree, and they must struggle harder than men for their jobs, shelter, education, access to media and technology, and political rights. Third World women face additional perils in the form of severe malnutrition, starvation, genital mutilation, economic enslavement, warfare that turns them into refugees and death-by-poverty of almost half their children. Meanwhile, back in the First World, all safe and warm, there are well-fed, healthy and wealthy white male "leftists" blithely quoting from a girlie magazine. It truly makes me sick.

Kathleen A. Dahl
Pullman, Wash.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

SYLVIA



By Marlene Nadle

THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES ARE SO busy with their own race that they aren't paying attention to elections in Latin America that could cause the future president his first crisis. In the next year, U.S. policy may be rejected by newly elected leaders in Venezuela, Argentina and Brazil even more emphatically than it was by the strong showing of Cuauhtemoc Cardenas in this summer's still-disputed Mexican presidential election.

Cardenas is just the first of an emerging group of Latin leaders who are challenging the U.S.-backed debt policies being carried out by their present governments. Polls indicate Carlos Andres Perez is likely to be elected in Venezuela by the time the new U.S. president is inaugurated. Carlos Saul Menem is currently favored to win Argentina's election next May or June. Leonel Brizola has a strong chance of victory in Brazil's election in November 1989—unless the military intervenes. Each candidate promises to stop payment on all or part of his country's foreign debt. Each is also likely to repudiate the International Monetary Fund (IMF) prescription for more government belt-tightening.

If the next U.S. president responds to this rebellion with a punitive cutoff of credit and capital instead of an innovative new policy, he will further damage the stability of countries that have been traumatized by the debt burden. This would further deteriorate U.S. relations with the region.

Latin American "populists" are already

Latin American debt: an issue that won't go away

fueling their campaigns by capitalizing on the widespread resentment over U.S.-backed debt terms and over prescriptions for contracting their economies. They are expressing their people's anger at policies that give U.S. bankers billions each year, but put Latins and their countries in deep economic crisis. And they are appealing both to middle-class voters who have seen their way of life ravaged by inflation, and to the poor who have suffered the worst of the recession, unemployment, hunger and despair.

Trying to explain the tremendous enthusiasm these candidates generate, an Argentine opponent of Menem claimed it was the same as Jesse Jackson's. "It is the sort of magic touch—a non-rational approach to redemption. The rational sectors have been unable to provide any solution to the people's needs, and so the people seek a charismatic solution." Charisma plays a part, but more importantly, Menem and the other populists try to address their people's needs. These populists do not leave the people almost entirely out of the equation as do their current governments and U.S. policy.

Debt for all: American policy has treated the debt crisis as a banking problem rather than the complex social problem it is. Since

the crisis began in 1982, the main approach of the Reagan administration has been to use the IMF to protect banks holding Latin loans and to make sure the interest on them is paid regardless of the social cost to the debtor nations. It wasn't until 1985 that the new Baker plan took rhetorical note of the Latin side of the debt crisis—and that was done only in response to the actions of Peruvian President Alan Garcia, who was one of the first to refuse to put the bankers' needs ahead of those of his own people. The Baker plan has remained mainly rhetorical rather than making real its stated goal of economic growth and loans for progress. Minimal debt relief schemes were developed to pacify the troubled nations, but they have barely touched the staggering sums that continue to be sent to the bankers.

This banking strategy, which has continued long past the time when it may have been necessary to prevent a collapse of the banks, lacks a broader vision of our national interest. The State Department stayed away from the debt problem almost entirely until this August. During George Shultz's catch-up trip to Latin America he encountered the resentment that has grown from exploitation. Even then he continued to speak in bankers' language about bridge loans instead of responding to the political warning given in Argentina when the opposition parties demonstrated against his visit, and in Bolivia when the Workers Federation declared him "persona non grata."

Shultz's treatment was just a preview of the rejection of the policy that is to come. The next president is likely to encounter the following crises and demands in Latin America:

• **Mexico:** Just because Cardenas did not win the fraud-tainted election does not mean relations with the U.S. aren't going to change. Carlos Salinas, the ruling party can-

commenting on the building social pressure, said, "The ruling party no longer controls the social forces. Their discipline has cracked, especially in the labor movement. The recent election broke a psychic barrier."

• **Venezuela:** Former President Carlos Perez, the leading candidate and a man with a continental perspective, has become an outspoken supporter of Peruvian President Alan Garcia's debt stance. Like Garcia, who unilaterally reduced debt payments to 10 percent of his country's export earnings, Perez is determined to set his own terms on future payment of the \$33 billion debt. He rejects the "economic totalitarianism" of the IMF, which took 26 percent of Venezuela's export revenue in 1987. He has taken this stance because even this wealthiest nation in Latin America has debtor problems. The 12-month inflation rate reached 28 percent in August, unemployment is growing, cash reserves are falling and, for the first time, Venezuela has to go further in debt by borrowing to pay the interest on existing loans. Perez' decision to do something about the suffering is the reason his Democratic Action Party—now in power—has not lost support and legitimacy as has happened in Mexico. With his restless energy and magnetism, Perez is likely to play a hemispheric role in the coming debt rebellion. He already spoke for the continent when he warned, "The current debt policies that hit the poor hardest have very dangerous consequences for the nascent democracies of Latin America."

• **Argentina:** Carlos Menem, confident of victory, has promised to ask his Congress for a five-year suspension of interest payments on the \$56 billion debt that took 56 percent of export earnings in 1987. He is likely to get it because of the recent congressional defeat of President Raul Alfonsin's Radical Party in 1987. This defeat is in large measure a result of Alfonsin's failure to obtain substantive relief on U.S.-IMF-backed debt payment or prescriptions for the currency devaluation and spending cutbacks that have caused such hardship. The living standard has gone back to '60s levels, the annual inflation rate reached 513 percent in July and the country is near economic collapse. In this difficult situation, Menem appeals as a populist and Peronist whose party has strong ties to the labor unions and a tradition of concern for the "shirtless ones." As a governor who is producing an economic boom in his poor province, he is taken seriously when he says he will create a "productivity revolution" for his moribund country by using its money for growth instead of sending it to U.S. bankers.

• **Brazil:** Former Gov. Leonel Brizola, who is ahead in the polls, has endorsed the declaration of peasant and labor leaders that announced the debt would be considered paid in full and the issue closed. He also talked about a moratorium on interest payments until there is a renegotiation of the \$122 billion debt that ate up 35 percent of export earnings in 1987. The left scoffs at his conflicting positions as political waffling. But the military sees Brizola only as the fiery socialist he once was rather than the mellow social democrat he has become. There is a risk the armed forces would prevent direct presidential elections, or even make a coup to keep him out of office. That would add a greater political

HOLIDAY

Gift

OFFER

MY NAME _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Send my first gift to:

NAME _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____ XX82

☐ \$34.95 one year ☐ \$18.95 for 29 issues
☐ New order ☐ Renewal

Send my second gift to:

NAME _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____ XX82

☐ \$24.95 one year ☐ \$16.95 for 29 issues
☐ New order ☐ Renewal

Send my third gift to:

NAME _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____ XX82

☐ \$19.95 one year ☐ \$14.95 for 29 issues
☐ New order ☐ Renewal

☐ Payment enclosed.

☐ Bill me later.

☐ Charge my MC/Visa

_____ exp. date _____

Or call our toll free number 1-800-435-0715. In Illinois call 1-800-892-0753.

A gift card will be sent announcing your gift. All gifts will begin with the first issue in January, 1989. Please write any additional gifts on a separate sheet of paper. Each gift being sent to Canada or Mexico, please add \$6.50 postage for 29 issues and \$13.00 for one year. All other foreign orders add \$23.20 for 29 issues or \$33.00 for one year.

In These Times

1912 Debs Ave.

Mt. Morris, IL 61054

crisis to the economic crisis that is edging toward a situation as bad as Argentina's, producing an annual inflation rate of 495 percent in August. Many people have a sense the country is out of President Jose Sarney's control and are deeply pessimistic in the formerly exuberant land that once declared, "God is a Brazilian!" They see Brizola, who is busy trying to convert the generals, as a savior.

Presidential aspirants: George Bush as a candidate has not distanced himself from the administration's current policy that is opposed to the substantive debt relief the populist candidates are demanding. He sees the debt issue as a narrow banking problem to be solved primarily by the private sector. His view of the crisis is reflected in his position paper, which praises former Ecuadorian President Leon Febres Cordero for following U.S. policies, but misses the point that Ecuadorans rejected those policies at the polls and elected Rodrigo Borja. The most adamant supporter of the current approach to the debt crisis, James Baker, is likely to have an influential role in his administration.

The only concrete proposal Bush has made is for the international lending institutions and the commercial banks to be more flexible and generous in making loans to countries willing to adopt market-force economies. The banks have remained skeptical of this as a solution to the debt problem and continue to be unwilling to lend much money for growth. Equally skeptical is a recent report of the U.N. Commission on Trade and Development which said even if lending was increased 2.4 times to \$16 billion a year over five years the debt statistics would show no improvement, and the accumulation of new debt would be dangerous. Even a Republican like Henry Kissinger, with his more global perspective, is critical of the policy and says government should take responsibility for growth in debtor nations instead of just leaving it to the private sector.

Dukakis: Unlike Bush and Baker, Michael Dukakis favors government action and talks about the need for greater debt relief. He takes account of the political aspect of the problem. In a speech he said, "The constant demand that Latin Americans tighten their belt will tie a noose around democracy." He went further and said the next president "must understand the link between our security and Latin America's economy."

Dukakis may have perception, but he has no program to head off the rapidly building political crisis. Instead, in addition to debt relief, he has general concepts like calling for the banks' acceptance of some losses for their imprudence in the past, and making debt payments low enough to leave sufficient money in the debtor nations to make growth possible. The plan for implementing these goals does not go much beyond meeting with Latin nations.

Dukakis may not move far enough on debt relief. In the spring, James Steinberg, Dukakis' deputy director of issues, listed as favored devices the same menu of minimal relief gimmicks now being used, plus Sen. Bill Bradley's (D-NJ) plan to reduce interest rates and principal by 3 percent. Now the campaign has backed off any numbers on the amount of debt relief saying the decision will be made in the future. If the final position turns out to be only a variation of Bradley's 3 percent plan, or focusses only



Brazilian presidential candidate Leonel Brizola has conflicting positions on the debt.

on reducing interest, as some of his advisers and Mexico's Salinas are suggesting, it probably won't be enough to keep Latin America from acting on its own.

Both candidates have ignored the growing consensus that debt relief, to be effective, must be substantive. Individuals as varied as Cardenas, American Express Chairman James Robinson and IMF Executive Director Arjun Sengupta have all developed plans that could cut 50 percent or more off a country's debt principal. The settlement would be based on the discounted price at which a country's unpaid loans can be sold in the marketplace by the banks. This is the financial community's cold-eyed estimate of what the countries are actually capable of paying back.

This approach was put into legislation by Rep. Donald Pease (D-OH). According to Pease's bill, the IMF, instead of acting as a collection agency or repo man, would become everybody's friendly banker. It would buy the banks' Third World debt at the discounted market price and immediately pass the discount along to the debtor nations. These countries would make their greatly reduced principal and interest payments directly to the IMF. The banks would be protected by spreading their losses over five years, getting other regulatory relief and a tax break.

The Senate isn't even considering any serious bills. Sen. Bradley has continued to talk about the debt issue, but without introducing new legislation to correct it. Neither has Sen. Paul Sarbanes (D-MD). An aide in Sarbanes' office explained the failure of the Senate to move on a similar bill by saying, "They only act in response to crisis." Rep. Pease is trying to convince them that crisis is already on the way.

Increasingly analysts are beginning to believe debt forgiveness is a workable solution. A similar large-scale cancellation of Latin debt in the '40s led to three decades of unbroken growth and development. There is some concern that partial relief will encourage debtor nations to walk away from their obligations entirely, but Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs told a House committee that there wasn't evidence for that view. He pointed out that the debtor nations have struggled to keep paying their bills despite the profound damage it has done

to their own countries.

All these countries have offered to pay part of their bill, or simply to take a break before resuming payments. "These countries want to play by the rules and work harmoniously with the U.S.," Sachs says. The real question is, "why is the U.S. helping to shape rules that are often politically suicidal for friendly, reformist and democratic governments?" He estimates that even in a worst-case scenario, where the countries

failed to meet reduced payments to the IMF, it would take perhaps 6 percent of the \$16 billion U.S. foreign aid budget over a few years to end the debt crisis that now affects many countries where the U.S. has important policy concerns.

Taking a stand: The presidential candidate who seriously proposes debt relief as a national security issue could win public support. There is a natural constituency for debt relief among businessmen who would get more profits, farmers who would have more sales and workers who would have more jobs once the U.S. is able to export more to Latin countries no longer too poor to buy our products. There is support to be had from those worried about the illegal aliens who come here for opportunities not found in their recession-damaged economies, and from those concerned about the drug menace that has gotten worse as economic collapse drove first Bolivia, and now Brazil, into the illegal traffic. Even environmentalists could be recruited with this issue because rain forests are being cut down for money to pay the debt.

If Bush and Dukakis paid more attention to the Latin American populists, they would realize debt relief can be good politics as well as good policy. They would be ready to resolve the coming debt rebellion with a boldness and broadness of vision that would benefit both continents. ■

Marlene Nadle, a journalist who recently returned from Latin America, is a senior research fellow at the Council on Hemispheric Affairs.

The Anti-Capitalist Pope: An Ally for Progressives!



That the pope in Rome, a former manual worker, is actually a political progressive and a principled critic of capitalism — so much so as to make U.S. liberals seem like neoconservatives — is one of our mass media's best kept secrets.

In *Laborem Exercens*, Pope John Paul said that capital must serve labor and called for workers' co-ownership and co-management of the means of production. In his more recent encyclical *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, he equated Western capitalism and Eastern Communism, and condemned both evenhandedly — placing the Catholic Church well to the "left" of the Democratic Party. He spoke of the Church's preferential love for the poor and characterized the security concerns of both East and West as "unacceptably exaggerated," adding that resources which should be spent on alleviating misery in the Third World are wasted on arms and imperialistic schemes.

Happily, a few sensitive souls are getting the message. On the strength of *Sollicitudo*, Norman Mailer proposed this literary pope for membership in PEN. John Kenneth Galbraith announced that "we must all applaud our greatly influential mentor, guide and ally." Murray Kempton, pointing to Church activism in the Philippines, South Korea, Poland, and Latin America, said that "even unbelievers like myself have to concede that the Catholic Church has become the steadiest, and in many places the only, defender of human rights the wide world can

show."

If you'd been reading the NEW OXFORD REVIEW — an ecumenical monthly edited by lay Catholics, and written and read not only by Catholics, but by Protestants, Jews, Eastern Orthodox, and even nonbelievers — none of this would surprise you. Moreover, you'd have been reading about giants like Gandhi, Bonhoeffer, Djalas, Silone, Tolstoy, and Simone Weil; about Nicaragua from eyewitnesses; about the retreat of Born-Again Chic, betrayals by neoconservatives and yuppies, the pros and cons of liberation theology, and the idolatry of nationalism; about the consistent ethic of life, simple living and economic democracy, religious opposition to nuclear weapons and U.S. belligerence in Central America, the need for a spiritually centered world view, and much more.

Those who write for us include such diverse people as Christopher Lasch, Walker Percy, Robert N. Bellah, John Lukacs, Henri J.M. Nouwen, Jean Bethke Elshain, Robert Coles, John B. Judis, and J.M. Cameron. We bat around a wide variety of issues and defy easy pigeonholing. *Newsweek* has called us "thoughtful and often cheeky," the University of Chicago's Martin E. Marty finds us "lively," and the *Library Journal* has predicted we will "doubtless command increasing attention." If you want to learn more about the unique religious contribution to justice and peace — indeed, to life itself — subscribe today!

(Please allow 2 to 8 weeks for delivery of first issue)

SPECIAL DISCOUNT RATES FOR FIRST-TIME SUBSCRIBERS

- ☐ One-year subscription \$14 (regularly \$19)
- ☐ One-year student, unemployed, or retired person's subscription \$12 (regularly \$16)
- ☐ Two-year subscription \$23 (regularly \$35)

- ☐ One-year Canadian or foreign subscription US\$17 (regularly \$22) Payment must be drawn in US Dollars
- ☐ Sample copy \$3.50

Send coupon or letter. Make check payable to NEW OXFORD REVIEW. Mail to:

NEW OXFORD REVIEW
Room 1
1069 Kains Ave.
Berkeley, CA 94706

PAYMENT MUST ACCOMPANY ORDER

NAME (Please print or type)

STREET ADDRESS

CITY

STATE

ZIP CODE

By Jon Christensen

FROM THE DISTANT CORNERS OF this vast state, a dozen Nevadans recently converged at a ranch beside Washoe Lake to plan for battles pitting their statewide grass-roots organization against a formidable opponent: the federal government and the U.S. armed forces.

Here, between the pine forests of the Sierra Nevada Mountains and the sage-covered desert ranges that march east across the Great Basin, Citizen Alert's message was summed up on bumper stickers adorning a dozen dusty cars and trucks: "Nevada is not a wasteland."

Among this varied group—Citizen Alert's advisory board—were Shoshone and Paiute Indians, a miner, a retired Las Vegas newspaperman, a rancher and a former aide to Nevada Sen. Paul Laxalt.

At the top of their agenda was one of Nevada's oldest problems: the federal government's insatiable appetite for the state's territory.

Military wasteland: Nevada's vast basin and range desert has long been viewed by planners in Washington as an ideal place for huge, dangerous military projects. The federal government already owns 87 percent of the state. Outside of Reno, Las Vegas and a few growing ranching and casino towns on Interstate 80, Nevadans are few and far between.

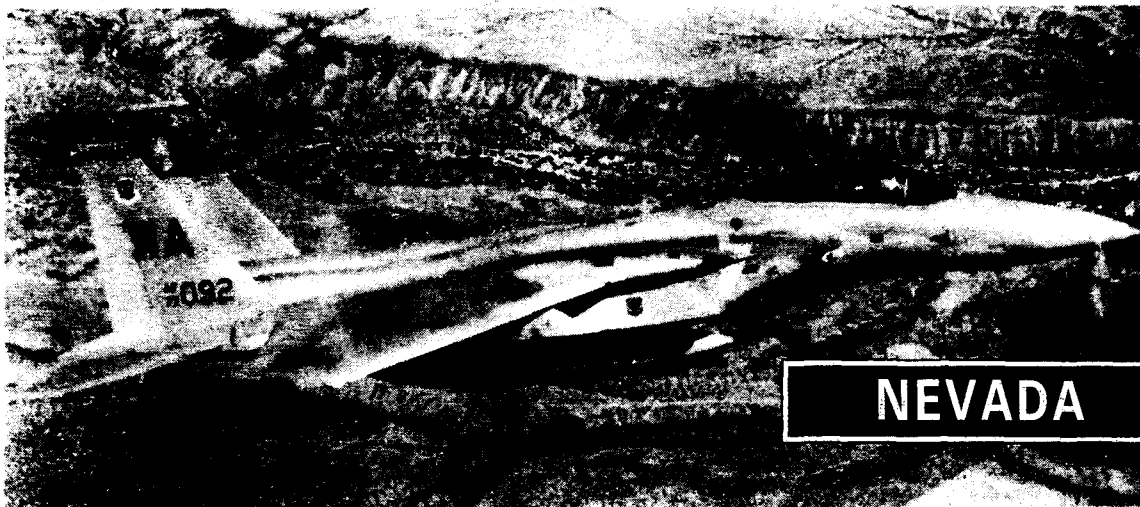
The Nevada desert has hosted four decades of nuclear testing, the nation's biggest ammunition dump and the largest air force training operations in the country. Nearly two-thirds of the air space above Nevada is restricted by the military, and more than 4 million acres of state land are under direct military control.

Now the Navy and the Air Force say they need more space for top-gun pilots practicing bombing runs and high-speed dog fights in the open desert skies. And the federal government wants to locate the nation's first high-level nuclear waste dump at Yucca Mountain in the southern part of the state.

"Federal demands have gone too far," said Citizen Alert's director, Bob Fulkerson. "They are threatening to turn Nevada into a national sacrifice state." Some parts of Nevada, such as Dixie Valley, 150 miles northeast of here, have already been sacrificed, he said.

In the first-ever condemnation of private homes for military flight testing in the air space above, the Navy recently forced 35 families to move out of Dixie Valley to make way for expanded supersonic training routes out of nearby Fallon Naval Air Station. The families agreed to a Navy buyout after being buzzed and boomed, sometimes more than 100 times a day, by jet fighters breaking the sound barrier over their once tranquil, mountain-ringed hamlet. The pressure broke windows,

18 IN THESE TIMES OCT. 5-11, 1988



Big birds of Nevada: part of Citizen Alert's field guide to dangerous military flyovers.

Citizen Alert's desert foxes play tough defense

cracked walls and damaged foundations. For Dixie Valley residents the physical and psychological stresses were unbearable.

Public demands: Fulkerson accused the military of acting like "dictators" in Nevada. The fifth-generation Nevadan and former aide to retired Sen. Paul Laxalt regularly appears at hearings forced by Citizen Alert's high-profile demands for public participation in federal decisions that affect Nevadans. He enjoys respectful coverage from local media and cordial relations with state officials and even the military officers he frequently opposes.

"We don't want to always have to criticize the military," Fulkerson recently told a panel of top Navy and Air Force brass. "We would like to work with you." But, he warned, Citizen Alert's members, now more than a thousand statewide, are adamantly opposed to further land or air space takeovers and "there will be hell to pay if it happens again."

"The only reason this goes on in Nevada," he said, "is because so few people live here. So few people will advocate for this desert. But it's our home and we'll fight for it."

The military, however, is a tough opponent. Second only to gambling in the Silver State economy, the armed forces provide 34,000 jobs and \$1.5 billion in spending. Although Nevada boosters and state politicians often embrace federal projects with little hesitation about consequences, opposition has been slowly building for years.

A guiding spirit: Many of those who met at Washoe Valley recently had been on the scene 10 years ago when Citizen Alert learned its first lessons about taking on the military in the rural West. One who wasn't able to make this meeting, however, was Joe Griggs, who recently died of cancer. Griggs was the one who first showed Citizen Alert how the battles could be won.

In 1979, the Air Force announced

its plans to run 200 MX missiles on 1,900 miles of railroad track through the high desert valleys of central and southeastern Nevada and on into Utah. Nevada's politicians immediately placed their bets with the MX, and polls taken at the time showed more than 60 percent of the state's residents supported the project.

Marla Painter, who was working for Citizen Alert then, remembered a call she got from Joe Griggs out in Baker, a small town near the Utah border.

Griggs was a wrangler and a jack-of-all-trades on the Baker Ranch. He had grown up grazing cattle on the range. His family lived downwind of the Nevada Test Site in one of the valleys slated for an MX complex.

"It's a long way out here," Griggs told Painter, "but maybe you could come out for this meeting we're having."

Gathered together in the living room of Griggs' "Rock House" at the foot of Mount Wheeler were Indians, ranchers, prospectors, a couple of lawyers, activists from Reno and Salt Lake City, environmentalists and Mormons.

"The people in that room normally wouldn't be seen together," Painter remembered. "But Joe was adamant that we leave our guns at the door...put aside our differences and agree on the one thing we could agree on: that we didn't want the MX here in the Great Basin."

As a cowboy Joe Griggs had won the respect of the isolated ranchers of eastern Nevada. A small, tough man with a handlebar mustache and a quiet, rough voice, Griggs knew ranch life and the lingo of the range. And he insisted on a style of organizing that set the tenor for Citizen Alert's work throughout Nevada.

Painter said she learned from Griggs that being an organizer in the West meant "even if you don't like some guy, he's probably the only one for miles. And one day you'll need him, so you better get along."

For Painter, that meant accepting a certain conservative ethic prevalent on the range and in the mining towns. "We agreed to disagree about larger philosophical questions when we shared the same end," she said.

"People live out here for one reason," she remembered Griggs telling her. "They're not joiners. You have to let people be who they are. You can't expect someone from Pahrump to agree with the bullshit we put out."

The Great Basin MX Alliance never insisted on anything more than opposition to the "racetrack" basing mode and consequently it flourished as a loose coalition of groups scattered across the desert. Early support for the project faded under attack from the miners, ranchers and other rural residents who would have been most affected by MX deployment. Citizen Alert, the Alliance and other groups packed Air Force hearings, tore apart the project's environmental impact statements and garnered national media attention with their gritty sagebrush campaign to stop the MX.

National attention: A crowd of more than a hundred Nevadans recently returned again to the ranch at Washoe Lake and mingled under the pine trees to celebrate Citizen

Alert's pioneering spirit. Citizen Alert was born at this ranch 13 years ago when the federal government first announced its plan to dump high-level nuclear waste in Nevada. Today the state bristles with opposition to the waste dump, from the rural "cow counties" and mining towns to the state capital.

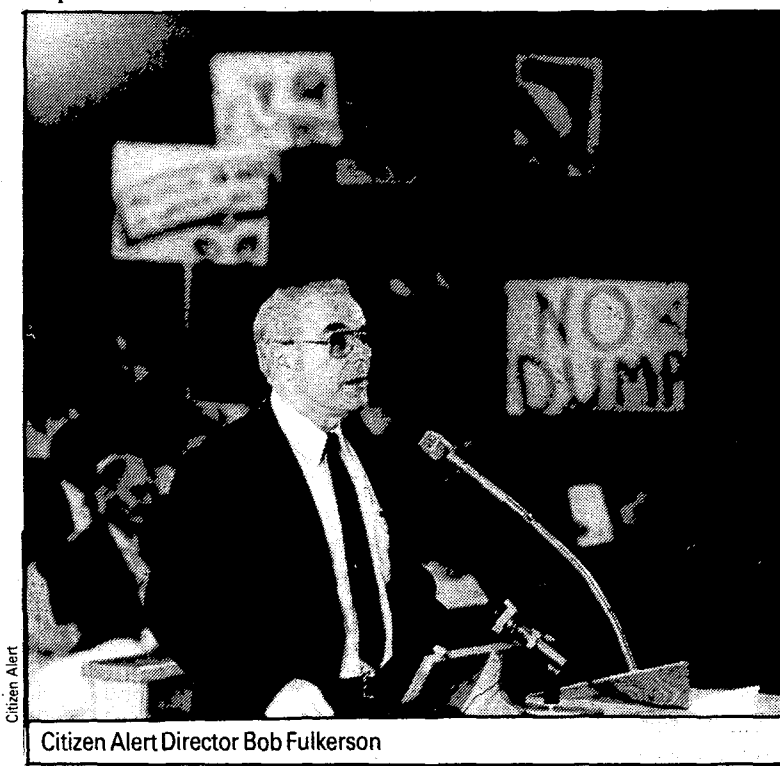
The group's fight against military encroachment on public land and air space is beginning to attract national attention. At this gathering, Citizen Alert celebrated receiving a "Grassroots Peace Award" for their most recent work, including a telephone hotline, 1-800-SKYGUARD for reporting military air-space abuses nationwide. In concert with the Rural Coalition and other Western networks, Citizen Alert is monitoring violations in order to take its case to Congress and demand a law requiring the military to consider the effects overflights have on the people and land below.

"Usually when people from the East Coast come to give something to Nevada, it looks more like this," joked foundation Director Margaret Gage, holding up a long metal screw before presenting Citizen Alert with the award and \$10,000 from the Peace Development Fund and Pacific Peace Fund. The bicoastal foundation is one of a number of "venture foundations" that over the years have helped Citizen Alert survive in Nevada's sparsely populated landscape.

"Through this award we want to tell the story of strong, dynamic heroes like you around the country," Gage said. "You are doing important work for all of us, drawing connections between Nevada issues and U.S. military policy."

"It's great to know we're not alone, isn't it?" Fulkerson asked the crowd. "Nuclear waste and military takeovers are not a problem that should be borne only by Nevada. These are national problems."

Jon Christensen is a San Francisco freelance writer who recently traveled to Nevada.



Citizen Alert Director Bob Fulkerson

By William Gasperini

Squeezing the message in between rock and a hard place

ON THE SURFACE IT WAS A TYPICAL blockbuster rock concert. Thousands of young fans cheered enthusiastically from the grounds of a 30,000-seat soccer stadium as major rock artists, including Bruce Springsteen, played familiar songs.

But this show was different. First, the stadium was in Costa Rica, which had never hosted such a large concert. And second, the singers were here not just to entertain but to deliver a message.

"Get up, stand up, stand up for your rights..." the Bob Marley classic, opened the show in an a cappella chorus by Springsteen, British stars Sting and Peter Gabriel, U.S. singer Tracy Chapman and Senegalese musician Youssou N'Dour. Costa Rican "New Song" singer Guadalupe Urbina also joined in for this sixth stop on a six-week world tour sponsored by Amnesty International to promote human rights. Starting in London September 2, the tour visited several European countries before landing in San Jose September 13.

After stops in Canada and the U.S., the artists will visit Japan, India and Africa before winding up in Buenos Aires, Argentina, October 15.

Rocking for rights: Amnesty International officials said the concerts are intended to raise awareness of human rights abuses in each region they are held. The occasion is the 40th anniversary of the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" proclaimed in the U.N. in December 1948. At each stop, volunteers are passing out small copies of the document, which specifies that "all individuals are entitled to life, liberty and physical integrity."

Costa Rica was the only stop in Central America. Tour organizers said the country was chosen due to its role in promoting the regional peace plan, authored by President Oscar Arias. Tour officials emphasized that the human rights message holds special significance in a deeply troubled region where abuses have routinely occurred.

"Governments are for protection and not destruction. We say to all governments, especially those of this region, behave," said Amnesty International Executive Director Jack Healy. "Implement this document in its fullness by using this 40th anniversary to stop all torture, all disappearances, all killings."

He also added that the concert was intended for "rich and poor, literate and illiterate, especially the *campesinos*, even if just to cheer you." While the tour is not intended to raise money, ticket prices were still high (1,000-1,500 colones, or \$13-\$19), meaning that only middle-class youth were able to attend—although thousands of people did manage to enter free.

But the stars themselves had the most to say about the political mes-

sage, both at the show and during a prior press conference. One Latin American journalist asked how, as rock stars, they could truly com-

HUMAN RIGHTS

prehend torture, unjust imprisonment and other rights abuses. Sting replied, "It's impossible to enjoy your own freedom while there's a single person being tortured."

In recent years the British star has been increasingly concerned with human rights issues, evidenced in a song he wrote in Spanish last year about the mothers of "disappeared" people in Chile. Speaking in Spanish, he said it is time for rock musicians to lend their names to what he called better causes, such as human rights.

Senegalese singer Youssou N'Dour, speaking in French, told of how a friend had disappeared and been tortured, and that he had feared to speak out against such injustices in his West African country. Now, he

said, Amnesty International provides a crucial forum from which to speak against such abuses.

Tracy Chapman pointed out that the variety in the musicians' backgrounds reflects their ability to understand the human rights issue, and that abuses are not confined solely to the Third World.

Breaking down the barriers: "We are not here just as musicians, but also as individuals who come from different places and whose experiences are varied," Chapman said, "No one has a monopoly on suffering." Chapman is a relatively new star whose songs deal with such themes as racial and domestic violence, reflecting her experiences growing up as a black teenager in the U.S. Her message has already reached Costa Rica, where a song from her first album is extremely popular. Alone with her guitar on a huge stage, she easily won the crowd over, despite the language barrier.

But the job of explaining the pre-

cise relationship between rock music and political issues was left to Bruce Springsteen.

"I don't speak much Spanish, but I'm going to try," the "Boss" told the crowd in accented Spanish during his high-energy set that closed the eight-hour concert. "When I was a child, rock'n'roll made me dream. They were dreams of life, dreams of love, dreams of human possibility, dreams of sex [huge cheers], but more than anything else, dreams of liberty."

"And it is that dream which has brought us here tonight, to Costa Rica," Springsteen continued. "If you believe one person can make a difference, and that the human spirit is something all-powerful, join Amnesty International to defend human rights, and let us all hear the voices of liberty that much louder...from my hometown to all of your hometowns," he finished, leading into a contemplative rendition of "My Home Town."

Earlier, at a packed press conference, Springsteen had called the watchdog human-rights organization an "island of idealism," capturing the "liberating influence" of music that he used to feel as a child.

"On all those little rock'n'roll records that my parents thought were junk, I found information and education about the vitality of living and a transcendent sense of freedom,"

Amnesty International tour officials emphasized that the human rights message has special significance in Central America.

he said. "I used to think, 'what if you could stretch the short minutes of those records into days, and from childhood into adulthood?' And so I see my job as a rock'n'roll musician as attempting to maybe fulfill some of the promise of those records. And that's why I'm here."

As the show surged from one powerful set to the next, each artist conveyed messages in keeping with the tour's purpose. Gabriel ended his set with a penetrating tribute to assassinated South African Steven Biko; Sting and Gabriel sang a duet on "They Dance Alone," for the mothers of Chile; Springsteen rocked through his rendition of "War!"

Satan place? But human rights

was not the only issue enveloping the "Human Rights Now!" concert for Costa Ricans. For weeks before the show, many locals expressed alarm over possible drug abuse and what one newspaper columnist called the "satanic influence of rock music."

Costa Rica is currently waging a public "Say NO to drugs" campaign, even though drug abuse is not considered widespread here. Most observers feel the country's real drug problem is its alleged role as a transshipment point for cocaine traffickers from South America, and not casual marijuana smoking by teenagers.

Yet San Jose Archbishop Roman Arrieta voiced fears over the dangers stemming from large rock concerts, and how "rampant drug use has accompanied this type of activity in Europe and North America." Another columnist warned of how these types of events often end in "drunken orgies under clouds of marijuana smoke."

But the musicians themselves sought to calm fears over the issue in this basically conservative country.

"You may have noticed that many of us are old enough to be parents," said Peter Gabriel, formerly with the group Genesis, "and we are just as concerned about our children as you are about yours." Sting added, "This tour is about human happiness. It is anti-drug, because drugs are not about human happiness."

Other critics suggested the drug controversy stemmed more from Costa Rican xenophobia and resentment toward the heavily Americanized pop culture that enthralls most of the region's youth. And, as in the U.S., "getting tough on drugs" has also become a political football with the two main parties gearing up for the 1990 elections.

In the end, the only cloud over the concert was the misty fog rising during a night of intermittent rainfall caused by Hurricane Gilbert, passing over Mexico far to the north. Drug use was practically non-existent in the well-behaved crowd of mostly young people, taking advantage of this once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to see famous stars in their own city.

Seventeen-year-old Roberto Robur said most people seemed aware of the concert's political theme, but that the music was the real draw.

"People really came for the music, but it's also a vehicle that helps them become interested in human rights and in Amnesty International," he said.

And this blend of message and music seemed to agree with the concertgoers, who went away satisfied after the eight-hour show ended with the artists alternating choruses on Bob Dylan's "Chimes of Freedom" and, once again, "Get Up, Stand Up."

William Gasperini, *In These Times'* Nicaragua correspondent, recently rocked on over to Costa Rica.



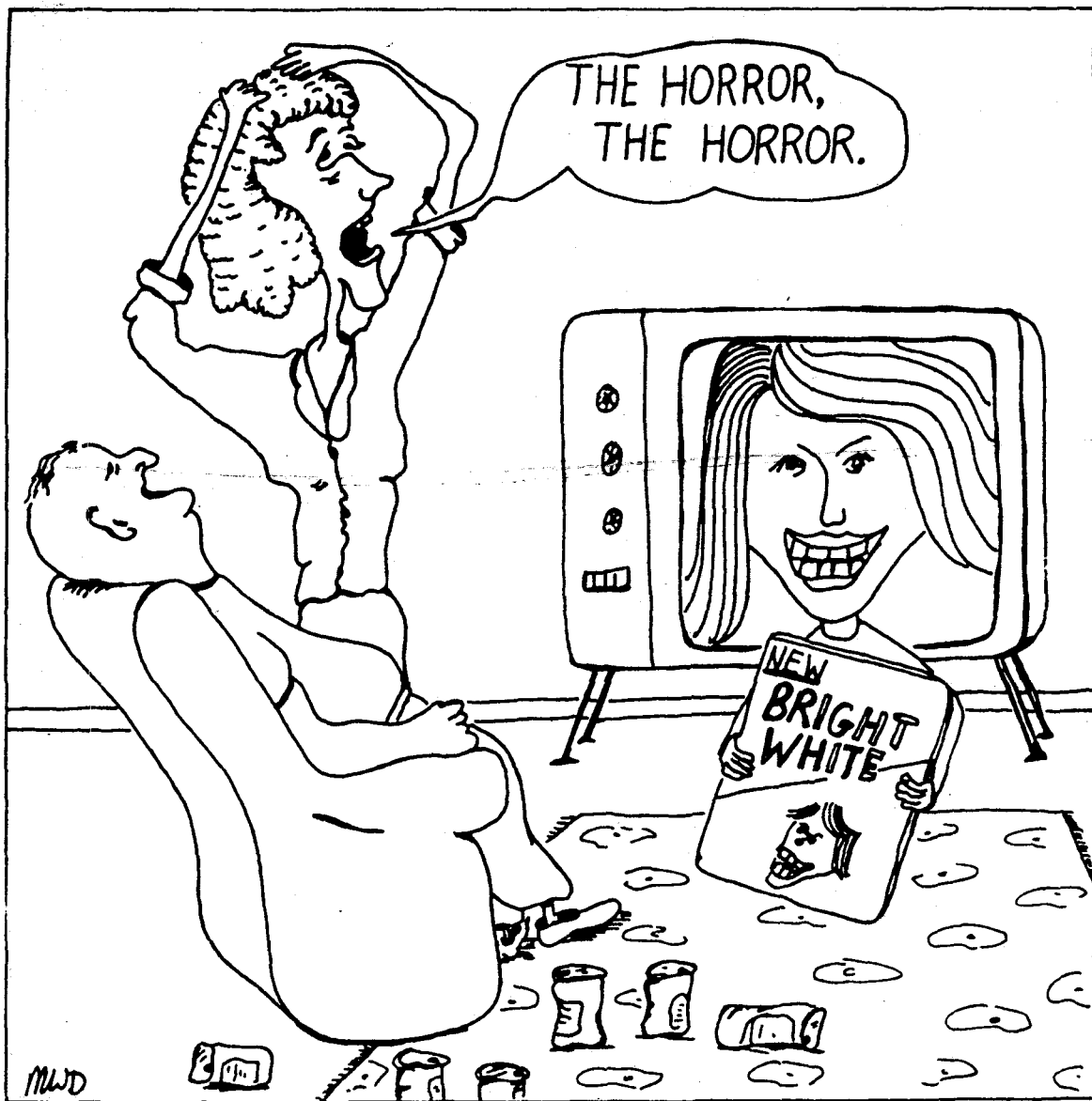
Tracy Chapman



Sting

Bruce Springsteen

Photo by Martin Benjamin



Another kind of remote control

Boxed In: The Culture of TV
By Mark Crispin Miller
Northwestern University Press,
349 pp., \$39.95

By William E. Cain

THE TITLE OF THIS PROVOCATIVE, briskly written book is somewhat misleading, since Mark Crispin Miller deals in it with rock music and film as well as with television. But while the essays on Elvis Presley, Alfred Hitchcock, feminist cinema studies and Orwell's 1984 are insightful and entertaining, the real strength of *Boxed In* lies in its devastating, wickedly funny indictment of what Miller terms "the culture of TV."

Miller begins by forcefully defending his interest in and analytical attention to television. TV saturates America's collective consciousness, he argues, and highbrow pundits and most academics are both mistaken and self-deluded when they loftily dismiss or claim to ignore it. TV is not a discrete, separable medium that we can cordon off from more elevated, truly enriching forms of culture. It is too huge a fact, and too ominously pervasive, for us to pretend that it neither concerns nor deeply affects all aspects of life.

It all adds up: As Miller astutely points out, TV is a supremely effective

corporate instrument" whose so-called "shows" function to expose audiences to a steady stream of advertisements. Indeed, says Miller, the shows and the commercials have increasingly come to resemble one another, and they have successfully penetrated domains that were once securely independent. What we now face is a gigantic, all-encompassing spectacle in which TV reigns over and determines the shape of political

TELEVISION

campaigns and conventions that must be as tightly timed and relentlessly superficial as the sit-coms they frantically attempt to rival.

TV also influences the nature of news and information, first promoting panic about an insane, uncontrollable world and then coolly reassuring viewers that managerial experts and power-brokering authorities will bring safety and salvation. One could add that TV now pretty much dominates sporting events as well. The action of the games is disrupted by "TV time-

TV is a supremely effective corporate instrument.

outs" for commercials, is framed by a patriotic and nationalistic rhetoric that broadcasters and network shills boisterously invoke, and is so immersed in business sponsorship and conspicuous self-display that the athletes' labors seem secondary to the zealously created corporate extravaganza swirling around them.

Miller illustrates his argument through a series of subtle "close readings" of advertisements, crisp assessments of well-known shows such as *Family Feud* and *Hill Street Blues*, and barbed treatments of a range of TV events from the annual Jerry Lewis telethon for muscular dystrophy to the royal wedding of Lady Diana and Prince Charles. Miller is a potent mocker and cynic, observing, for example, that "Miami Vice, a show indistinguishable from the shirt ads in *Gentlemen's Quarterly*, makes any episode of *Hill Street Blues* look, in retrospect, like *Uncle Vanya*." He describes *Hill Street's* cast of characters as "lovely, flawed, unglamorous and weak, presented with the same affectionate contempt that imbues those TV commercials showing 'real people' in all their droll impotence."

A life-like president: Sometimes Miller seems merely facile in his clever jokes (however richly deserved) at TV's expense. At his best, however, his mordant humor and

fierce wit serve to strengthen his powerful critiques. In an excellent chapter on President Reagan, he deftly describes TV's transformation of American "political culture" and examines Reagan's masterfully "life-like" enactment of the "functions devised for him by his programmers." He also supplies a detailed account of TV's coverage of the 1984 Democratic convention, vividly sketching the crude market-mentality that dictates how newsmen interpret politics for us:

"Nearly all the TV newsmen think of us, not as an audience of grown-up citizens, but as a market. Thus what directs the newsmen is not that legendary 'liberal bias' condemned so often by the right, nor is it any such cabal of corporate higher-ups as is frequently invoked by vulgar Marxists. Rather, the TV newsmen does the bidding of those higher-ups entirely on his own and without knowing it, simply by thinking as they think; that is, by regarding us as a potential mass of buyers, inattentive, fickle and dim-witted, and who therefore need to be expertly stroked or startled or cajoled, anything to keep the ratings high."

While *Boxed In* is an impressive, sophisticated study, it is also perplexing and contradictory. To his credit, Miller emphasizes the need for "critical thinking" and "dissent," yet these terms feel extremely thin when we set them alongside Miller's intense, dismayed portraits of a "restless, disconnected and insatiable" population reduced to being mere consumers. If TV is as remorseless and vast as Miller suggests, and if it has triumphed over and incorporated all persons and institutions, then stalwart references to dissent

and resistance will invariably sound feeble.

A distorted reflection: Miller himself staunchly professes to believe in (and he often adeptly practices) critical analysis, but the disdainful tone and the negativity that drive his book make sustained analysis of TV appear strangely futile. All we can really do, it seems, is parody and mock TV, laughing at and echoing Miller's acid observations. He and we end up mimicking the hip irony, smart ridicule and fast-paced gestures of knowing superiority that Miller has described as TV's favored style.

Miller's celebrity piece about Hitchcock in *Boxed In* implies—and cogent essays he has published elsewhere confirm—that TV has not corroded standards and destroyed the capacity to respond appreciatively to challenging material. Indeed, in a rather damaging admission for his argument, Miller surprisingly notes that "there is such a thing as art even on TV, and for those rare exceptions we should be grateful." Nowhere does he explain or provide examples for this judgment.

Perhaps if he had done so, he would have been led to articulate the real complexity, positive potential and sites of resistance in culture—which includes but is not wholly identical with TV norms and values at their worst. Amazingly enough, Miller reluctantly concedes, TV sometimes delights and instructs us. And, as his sharp-eyed instances of affirmative criticism attest, there is much important, invigorating cultural work that TV has not contaminated, absorbed or overruled. ■

William E. Cain is director of American studies at Wellesley College.

NOTEBOOK

The Silence of the Lambs

By Thomas Harris
St. Martin's Press, 338 pp., \$18.95

Of all the popular writers who have made a buck off America's fixation with the serial killer, Thomas Harris may be the most compelling. Harris, a former journalist who keenly understands the role the media plays in shaping the mystique of the sociopath, found a large audience with his earlier novels, *Black Sunday* and *The Red Dragon*. His new novel, *The Silence of the Lambs*, is a lurid, riveting and yet strangely dignified work with a psychological depth rarely encountered in popular fiction.

As in *The Red Dragon*, Harris chronicles a national high-tech manhunt for a serial killer, and once again it is individual intuition that cracks the case. The heroine is an FBI trainee who is fed clues from a violent genius locked up in a hospital for the criminally insane. This avatar of pure evil (the author's most amazing character) entertains

himself by leading her toward a killer with a bizarre reason for mutilating his victims.

One could fault Harris for implicitly endorsing the need for domestic surveillance, much as another popular novelist, Tom Clancy (*Red Storm Rising*), implicitly endorses the need for more national defense. The basic plot becomes a subtle form of propaganda—in this case, by suggesting that high-tech federal law enforcement has become essential in a land where individual liberties give the sociopath a dangerous advantage.

Even so, Harris has written a vividly realized book that can be praised for its incredible attention to detail, and for its psychological insights. Though outwardly concerned with the weirdest sorts of behavior, Harris ranks with John Le Carré in his ability to suggest the complex motivations at work in the simplest and most "normal" human exchanges.

—Jeremiah Creeden

Life on the Line

a crossover success

The Border: Life on the Line
By Douglas Kent Hall
Abbeville Press, 252 pp., \$35.00

By Patty Somlo

American writers and photographers have long been drawn to the frontiers. Attracted by the romance of life at the edges, they tend to capture that life with lenses colored by naive or simply inaccurate preconceptions. The result is often more a testament to their own thrilling experience than a significant contribution to understanding a group of people and their way of life.

The latest frontier to be conquered by American writers and photographers, the 2,000 mile-long border between the U.S. and Mexico, is no exception. The lawless nature of border life has captured the imagination of American journalists in recent years, resulting in a number of well-intentioned, but one-sided studies of the people who live, work or just pass through this stretch of land. Viewing the border as a separation between two distinct cultures, they often regard the Mexicans they attempt to portray from a distant and rather superior vantage point.

A different vantage: The latest book in the frontier genre, *The Border: Life on the Line*, by Douglas Kent Hall, is a welcome exception. A photographer and writer, Hall has captured border life in words and photographs, both color and black and white, from the ground level up. With this decidedly different vantage point, he has taken the hallmark of the genre—a mixture of pity and admiration for the undocumented aliens who cross the border—and turned it on its head. Instead of depressing wide-angle shots of Mexicans massed at the border or being rounded up by beefy, heavily armed

immigration agents, Hall provides close-up portraits of smiling people, shots of beautiful landscapes and colorful city streets.

For example, the lead photo of the second chapter, "The Alien," is a black-and-white portrait of a Salvadoran refugee. Probably still a teenager, he is attractive, dressed in jeans and an alligator shirt and smiling.

In the book's introduction, Hall admits that as a young man he had

PHOTOGRAPHY

many romantic notions about Mexico and the border gathered from friends' tales and the writings of D.H. Lawrence. But many trips across the border and much time spent talking with people who live on both sides of it convinced Hall that the border is "not quite what it appears" and that "in its ambiguity lie the complexities that have made it a thorny problem."

Given this reality, Hall concluded that the only way to portray the border accurately was through the words of those who live alongside it—the "fronterizos." The book takes us on a journey through New Mexico, south Texas and northern Mexico, listening to the voices and seeing the faces of these border people. Some chapters focus on a particular individual, such as "The Agent." Others look at a group of people, as in "Artists," where we meet writers and painters in the Mexican border town of Juarez, or in "Spirits," which introduces us to spiritual healers in Laredo, Texas.

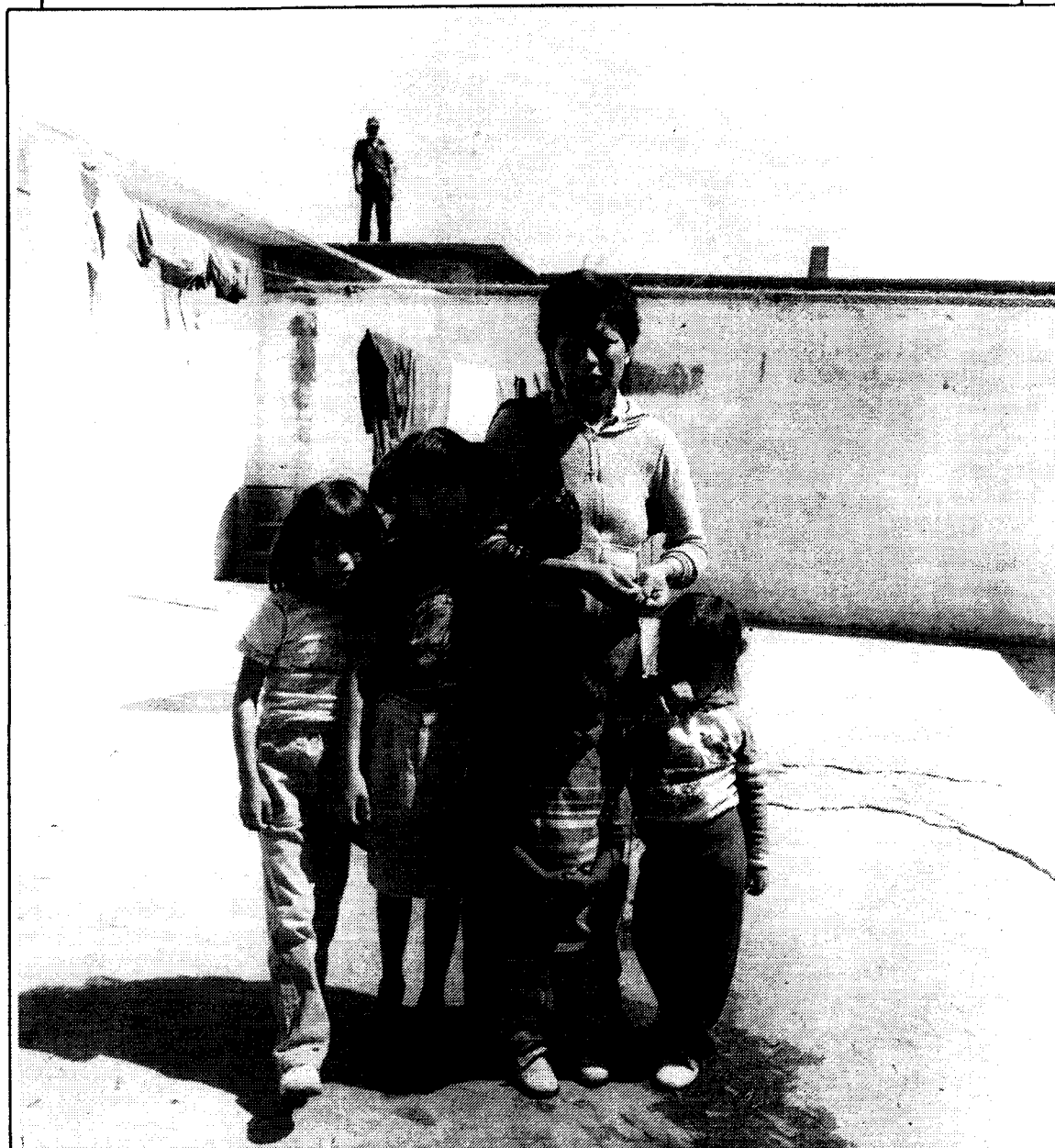
Beyond sleaze: By letting the *fronterizos* tell their stories, Hall provides an insider's tour of what he sees as a country within two countries. As in any trip where you are given the opportunity to travel with the locals and visit places off the beaten tourist track, stereotypes and preconceived notions are continually shattered. We find that Mexican border towns like Juarez are not just sleazy way stations for smugglers and pimps, but culturally rich places with artists producing groundbreaking work about the border experience. We meet an American smuggler who is not bringing drugs into the U.S. but transporting consumer items into Mexico, thus bypassing high import taxes that push prices out of reach for all but the rich.

Most important, we see that the border does not separate two distinct cultures, but is a metaphor for the union of the Latin and Anglo worlds, taking place not only where the U.S. and Mexico meet, but also in cities as far away as San Francisco and New York. Hall, in fact, says that where the border begins and ends

By letting the *fronterizos* tell the story, Hall provides an insider's tour of what he sees as a country within two countries. And as in any trip where you step off the beaten path, stereotypes are continually shattered.



Douglas Kent Hall, *The Border*



Douglas Kent Hall's photos and writings eschew the cloying mixture of pity and admiration found in most photo essays on the U.S.-Mexican border.

is "largely a matter of opinion," and that it may include Oakland, Calif., and San Francisco's Mission District, among other places.

In addition to fine descriptive writing with sharp, almost poetic images, Hall has given us moving and memorable photographs. Because he immersed himself in the border life, Hall's photos have a clear feeling

of familiarity with a place and a people. Hall's portraits are so intimate that we feel as if we have stepped into the frame.

In recent years, the immigration debate has centered on the need to close the U.S.-Mexican border, thereby stopping the flow of undocumented aliens into the U.S. Hall's fine book is an important

contribution to that debate, as he clearly demonstrates that closing the border is neither possible nor desirable.

Patty Somlo is an associate editor for Pacific News Service who has written on immigration for the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the *Baltimore Sun*, the *San Francisco Examiner* and *The Progressive*.

France

Continued from page 11

Israel, without correctly analyzing the dangers either to Israel or to itself.

French paralysis on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has paralyzed Europe as a whole. In June 1980, at the initiative of French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, the European Community summit meeting in Venice called for a "just solution to the Palestinian problem," ensuring the security of Israel and self-determination of the Palestinian people.

François Mitterrand, elected president in 1981, moved to revive the alliance with Israel, and the European Community has never again ventured into Mideast policy-making.

Nevertheless, the PLO's representative in Paris, Ibrahim Souss, in an interview in the latest issue of the Jewish monthly *Passages*, said relations with conservative governments in France had been cool because right-wing leaders are looking at France's

interests in the Arab world. The PLO has had to assert Palestinian identity against the Arab states—like Israel. Although the French Socialists have had an "ideological affinity" with Israel, they are becoming less ideological, he said.

Souss revealed that he had refused to have anything to do with extreme-right politicians who had tried to contact him and the PLO. "I know that some of them profess a certain sympathy for the Palestinian cause," he said. "But their terrain is anti-Semitism. They are pro-Palestinian but anti-Arab in France, just as others on the extreme right are pro-Israel and anti-Jewish."

The final reason for the absence of French, or European, initiative in the Mideast is belief that only the U.S. can force Israel to make peace with the Palestinians. Lionel Stoleru, the leading centrist in Prime Minister Michel Rocard's cabinet, indicated recently that the French government expects the U.S. to do the job, and make peace in 1989. □

Marine Shale

Continued from page 13

the Senate Natural Resources Committee, the chairman of the panel excused himself from the room. Several other members did likewise, leaving Sen. Leonard Chabert, an Edwards crony, in charge of the hearing.

A House environmental aide, angered by the sudden opposition to the bill, muttered in the audience, "Who paid you off?" and "I wonder if it's possible to buy a whole committee."

The bill was voted down.

Sen. Ben Bagert, a New Orleans Democrat, environmentalist and the only member of the panel to vote for the bill, was outraged: "I know that there are strong influences against passage of this bill. People with lots of political influence, people with lots of financial influence. I don't understand why something like this becomes controversial in the first place. No one argues intelli-

gently—or unintelligently, for that matter—against what's being proposed."

One senator whispered to reporters that "there was a lot of English on the ball."

Roemer, apparently sensitive to the environmental concerns and rumors of impropriety, had the measure resurrected as an amendment to a Senate-backed bill. A day after it was resurrected, Kent descended on the capital via his Bell Jet Ranger helicopter—surrounded by his ex-Edwards officials—to talk to Roemer. What followed was not a pretty sight, according to aides who sat in on the meeting. For 45 minutes Kent berated Roemer, accusing his environmental aide of being in the pocket of a competing incinerator company. But Roemer refused to back off the resurrected bill and sympathetic legislators pushed it to passage.

The bill ordered the state to develop new rules for Marine Shale to follow, regardless of whether the company is a "recycler" or an incinerator.

Tightening the reins: While the new regulations have not yet been developed, the newly appointed, environmentally conscious state officials are beginning to put Marine Shale to the test. The company has been ordered to remove four leaky barges from Bayou Bouef, and, more importantly, was ordered to attend a September 29 hearing to prove that it qualifies as a recycler. Demonstrating arrogance remarkable even for them, Marine Shale officials walked out in the middle of a preliminary hearing in early September and said they're not coming back.

While the state finally is taking on the renegade company, federal investigations continue to drag on. The EPA continues to say that Marine Shale "poses no imminent threat" to people in the area. The FBI remains mum about its involvement in the case, except to say it is investigating criminal activities under the organized crime statute. A federal grand jury has been meeting for 18 months in Lafayette, La., and to date has issued no report.

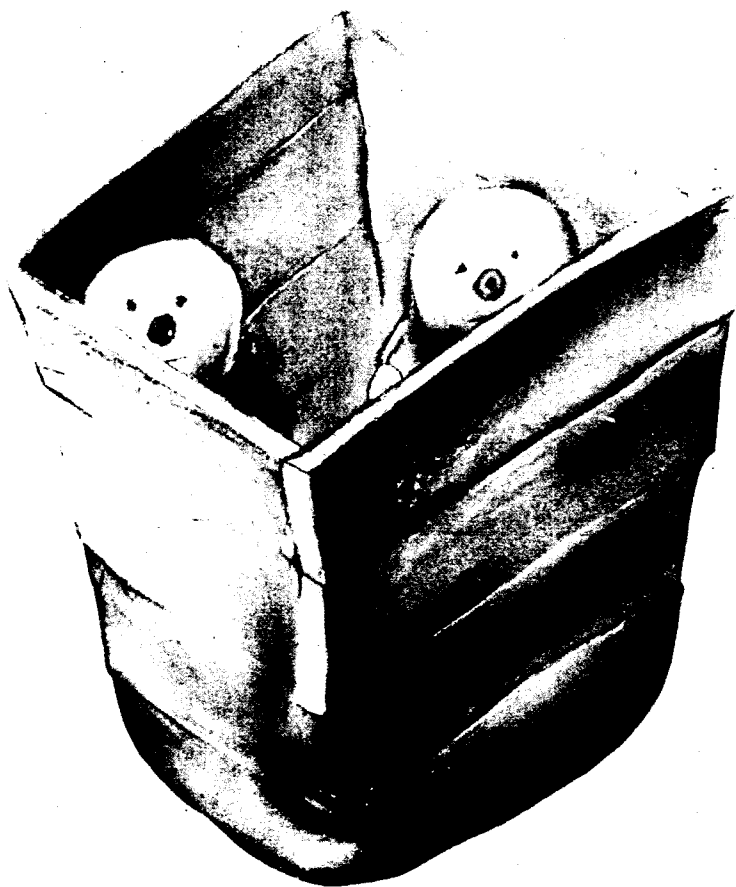
For its defense, Kent and Marine Shale have reached into Mississippi for House minority leader Trent Lott, the ranking Republican in Congress. Lott, a candidate for the U.S. Senate in Mississippi, wrote the EPA on behalf of Kent in January, then through a spokesman denied ever having met Kent. Phone logs obtained by UPI show Lott's administrative aide making calls to the EPA as far back as 1986 about the agency's probe of Marine Shale.

A Marine Shale official has said Lott and Kent "know each other on sight," and have known each other for several years. The Lott spokesman said the congressman tried to help because of all the Mississippians who work at the Marine Shale plant—which is located approximately 150 miles from the Louisiana-Mississippi border.

Marine Shale's ultimate strategy may be to stonewall slow federal and state officials, knowing that time, money and powerful interests are on its side. By the time Marine Shale is either shut down or brought forcefully into compliance, it will have made millions of dollars and can always leave site cleanup to the Superfund program.

The experience proves again that until environmental policy shifts the burden of proof on industry to demonstrate its safety, rather than on the public to prove it is unhealthy, Americans will have environmental protection in name only. □

Steven Watsky is the United Press International Capitol bureau manager in Baton Rouge, La.



Meet Me at the Edge of the World

How rich is the geography of your mind?

READERS INTERNATIONAL(RI) will help you explore new worlds—through literature.

How better to view a culture, or a people, than through the eyes of their most talented writers? Acknowledged masters, till now undiscovered in English, from Nicaragua, South Korea, India. Acclaimed young writers from South Africa, Poland, Lebanon, the USSR.

Silenced voices now able to speak, from China, the Philippines, Argentina.

For a very modest subscription, (\$9.30 + p&p), you can help bring these good books into English—and enjoy them yourself, in fine, hardcover editions.

Every other month RI's editors, translators and advisors select a

new, important book from beyond the borders of English.

Begin with *THE EDGE OF THE WORLD*, Janusz Anderman's new dispatches from underground Warsaw. "Anderman writes, apparently with the harshest realism," says the *Los Angeles Times*, "yet there is something magical in the result."

From South Africa comes Ahmed Essop, praised by Nadine Gordimer as one of Africa's best new talents. Urgent works from Seoul, Montevideo, and Bucharest will follow.

Give these and other powerful writers a voice in English. Return the coupon now.

RI READERS INTERNATIONAL
PO Box 959, Columbia, LA71418
Good Books and a Good Cause

Books build bridges, East to West and South to North.

Please begin my subscription to RI with *The Edge of the World* from Warsaw, at the \$9.30 subscriber price (+ \$1.65 p&p). Send RI's latest book at the same price every other month. I may cancel at any time.

Name _____

Address _____

Apt. # _____

City _____

State _____

ZIP _____

☐ Payment enclosed of \$10.95 (Can.\$13.75).

☐ Bill my ☐ MasterCard or ☐ VISA.

Card no. _____

Expiry date _____

Signature _____

SPECIAL SAVINGS: Prepay a year's subscription for six books at just \$7.50 a book (+ \$1.65 p&p):

☐ Payment enclosed of \$55 (Can.\$65).

☐ Bill my credit card for US\$55.

Mail to: RI, P.O. Box 959
Columbia, LA 714718

ITT 22

Artwork: "Masks" by Slays, Warsaw

HELP WANTED

ALTERNATIVE JOBS/INTERNSHIP opportunities! The environment, women's rights, disarmament, media, health, community organizing and more. Current nation-wide listings--\$3. Community Jobs, 1516 P St., NW, Box 1029, Washington, DC 20005.

IN THESE TIMES is seeking an associate publisher. Responsibilities include large donor solicitation, supervision of business department and relations with other organizations. Experience in personal fund-raising, business management, organizational activity required. \$25,000 (negotiable). Starting January '89. Resumes to 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago 60657, Attn: Jim Weinstein.

EXPERIENCED JOURNALIST wanted to fill new full-time position. Job duties include extensive copy editing, rewriting, manuscript selection and headline writing. Must relocate to Chicago. Starting salary \$17,500. Send resume and cover letter (clips also welcome) to: Sheryl Larson, managing editor, IN THESE TIMES, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657.

HALF-TIME MANAGING EDITOR of the review of radical political economics, the journal of URPE. Salary \$12,000 to \$15,000, plus benefits, depending on qualifications. Reply by Nov. 1 to: Fred Moseley, Colby College, Waterville, ME 04901. (207) 872-3347.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR UNION seeks secretary with excellent organizational skills to work in legal department. Will train right person without legal secretarial experience. Good pay, excellent benefits. Letter and resume to Ms. Merlene Byron, CIR, 386 Park Ave. South, Rm. 1502, NYC 10016-8852.

PROOFREADER, IN THESE TIMES. Four days a week, 41 weeks a year. \$10 per hour. Experience in proof-reading, copy-editing or both required. Start immediately. Contact Sheryl Larson, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 472-5700.

FULL-TIME FUNDRAISER for consumer coalition. Salary based on experience. Send resume, salary requirements to:

CLASSIFIEDS

Jim Owen, 424 10th St., #305, Des Moines, Iowa 50309.

NATIONAL ACCESS COORDINATOR for the Alliance for Choice in Giving, a national federation of women, minority, low-income workplace solicitation funds. Coordinator responsible for researching and developing strategies for gaining workplace solicitation rights to national employers. Must possess communication, pr, organizing skills; experience with non-traditional non-profits and ability to work with wide variety of people. Location negotiable. Minneapolis/DC preferred. \$15,000/half-time. Send letter, resume and references to ACG Search Committee, 2058 James, St. Paul, MN 55105. Deadline 11/20. Start 1/1/89.

PUBLICATIONS
GAY COMMUNITY NEWS - "The gay movement's newspaper of record." Each week GCN brings you current informative news and analysis of lesbian and gay liberation. Feminist, non-profit. AND there's a monthly Book Review Supplement. Now in our 12th year. \$29.00 for the year (50 issues). \$17.00 for 25 weeks. Send check to GCN Subscriptions, Suite 509, 167 Tremont St., Boston, MA 02111.

THE PEOPLE. Marxist biweekly. Since 1891. 4 months/\$1. 1 year/\$4. The People (ITT), P.O. Box 50218, Palo Alto, CA 94303.

QUAYLE DROPPINGS: The GOP Threat. \$5 pbk. Liberal Press, P.O. Box 160361, Irving, TX 75016.

EVOLUTION OF GODS, a scientific & historical philosophy of life for the individual & the species. E.W. Minard, M.D.

THE POLITICS OF DOPE
MYTH: Reagan's drug war is winning
MYTH: Minorities are the drug traffickers
FACT: Earl Ofari Hutchinson exposes the drug hysteria myths in his current **IMPACT NEWSLETTER.**
Box 2368 Inglewood, CA 90305 \$1.50

Published 11/87. Paperback. pp. 120, \$9.95. Illustrations, references, appendix, index. Metropolitan Press, Portland, OR 97209.

1989 PACIFIC NW LABOR HISTORY Calendar, \$6.00 inc. postage. Quantity rates. Pacific Northwest Labor History Association, P.O. Box 75048, Seattle, WA 98125, (206) 524-0346.

VIDEO PUBLICATIONS
RADICAL!! The new-agers' video newspaper! \$2.00. VIDEO MANIA, Box 47(E), Princeton, WI 54968.

MISCELLANEOUS
CAXTON BOOK SEARCH, Box 1050, Evanston, IL 60204. Call or send wants, phone and address. (312) 475-1800.

LICK BUSH bumper sticker. Two bucks. Three for \$5. Duke City Stickers, 2118 Central Ave. SE, #54, Albuquerque, NM 87106.

ASSOCIATIONS
DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM! For free literature contact the Socialist Party, 516 W. 25th, New York, NY 10001.

PERSONALS
CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER links left singles, nationwide. Free sam-

ple. P.O. Box 555-T, Stockbridge, MA 01262.

ATTENTION
MOVING? Let *In These Times* be the first to know. Send us a current label from your newspaper along with your new address. Please allow 4-6 weeks to process the change. Send to: *In These Times*, Circulation Dept., 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054.

VOLUNTEERS
ITT NEEDS VOLUNTEERS in the Business Dept. Gain political/practical experience in a stimulating environment. Flexible hours available between 9-5, Mon.-Fri. Benefits include staff subscription rates, ping-pong. Call Teresa at (312) 472-5700.

1989 PEACE CALENDAR

"365 REASONS NOT TO HAVE ANOTHER WAR" A Collaboration Between Grace Paley and Vera B. Williams
128-page, spiral-bound appointment calendar in full color; \$8.75 or 4 for \$32
War Resisters League
339 Lafayette St., Dept. T, NY NY 10012

This publication is available in microform from University Microfilms International.

Please send information about these titles:

Name _____
Company/Institution _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
Phone _____
Call toll-free 800-521-3044. Or mail inquiry to: University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

TYPESETTING
CONCERT TYPOGRAPHERS shares your interest in social change...Our profits help support *In These Times*. Concert Typographers provides excellent, fast typesetting with individual service and spirit. Put your typesetting dollars to work for social change. Call (312) 472-5700. Ask for Sheryl Hybert. Or write for our FREE brochure: 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657. Member CTU, No. 16.

CALENDAR

Use the Calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of ITT Calendar.

NEW YORK CITY
October 15
Join the 4th Annual NYC Walkathon for Medical Aid to Central America, expected to raise \$150,000 in sponsored pledges for community health care projects in El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua. Assemble at 11 a.m. sharp (rain or shine) on Saturday, October 15, at Columbia University. Walk 10K to Union Square for rally at 3:30 p.m. featuring music and Central American speakers. Join us to demand an end to the U.S. war in Central America. Contact: Walkathon, 853 Broadway, Rm. 420, New York, NY 10003, (212) 979-8805.

WASHINGTON, DC
October 17
Blockade the Pentagon, El Salvador: Steps to Freedom. Stop the U.S. War in Central America. Nonviolent civil disobedience. For more information contact: Pledge of Resistance (202) 328-4040 or Winning Democracy (202) 265-0906.

LIFE IN HELL

LIFE IN HELL

©1988 BY MATT GROENING

CHILDHOOD IS HELL
A CARTOON SERIES FOR THE SMALL FRY

CHAPTER 10
HOW TO BE A FRISKY 5-YEAR-OLD

THE MOST COURAGEOUS THING A 5-YEAR-OLD CAN SAY
YOU'RE A MEAN MOMMY.

GENERAL ALL-PURPOSE QUESTIONS

WHAT THE HELL IS THIS?
HOW THE HELL DOES IT WORK?
IF MOMMY ASKS YOU WHERE YOU LEARNED SUCH LANGUAGE, SAY:
DADDY.

COME BACK HERE RIGHT NOW!

HALP!!! RUNAWAY TRIKE!!!
EARLY ATTEMPT TO SHIFT BLAME AWAY FROM SELF

BEDTIME BULLETIN
5-YEAR-OLDS AGREE THAT BEDTIME ANY EARLIER THAN 8 PM IS TOTALLY CRUMMY.

NOTHING TO DO?
WHY NOT TATTLE ON YOUR OLDER BROTHER OR SISTER?

TIPS FOR TYKES
LEARN THE PROPER RESPONSE WHEN MOMMY SAYS:

DON'T YOU KNOW WHAT "NO" MEANS?
DON'T SAY:
CERTAINLY I KNOW WHAT "NO" MEANS, BUT THE FACT OF THE MATTER IS THAT I FEEL DISINCLINED TO INHIBIT MY YOUTHFUL EXUBERANCE AT THIS TIME.
SAY:
YES, MOMMY.

THINGS TO BE AFRAID OF

DEE!
SIRENS
THUNDER & LIGHTNING
BEARS
THE DARK
SOLITUDE
WITCHES
MONSTERS
DAD

OTHER PEOPLE TO BLAME:

☐ BROTHERS ☐ SISTERS ☐ NEIGHBOR KIDS
☐ DOGS ☐ GHOSTS ☐ MOMMY (BE CAREFUL!) ☐ DADDY (BE VERY CAREFUL!)
HOW TO KEEP FROM GETTING KILLED BY MONSTERS AT NIGHT
1. KEEP YOUR BEDROOM DOOR OPEN.
2. KEEP THE NIGHT-LIGHT ON.
3. HIDE UNDER THE COVERS.
4. SCREAM YOUR HEAD OFF.
FABULOUS 4-YEAR-OLD FUNNY STUFF
LOOK UP.
LOOK DOWN.
LOOK AT MY THUMB.
GEE YOU'RE DUMB.
YOU TRIUMPH AGAIN

IN THESE TIMES Classified Ads Grab Attention

...and work like your own sales force. Your message will reach 96,000 responsive readers each week (72% made a mail order purchase last year). ITT classies deliver a big response for a little cost.

Word Rates:	Display Inch Rates:
80¢ per word : 1 or 2 issues	\$28 per inch / 1 or 2 issues
70¢ per word : 3-5 issues	\$26 per inch / 3-5 issues
65¢ per word : 6-9 issues	\$24 per inch / 6-9 issues
60¢ per word : 10-19 issues	\$22 per inch / 10-19 issues
50¢ per word : 20 or more issues	\$20 per inch / 20 or more issues

All classified advertising must be prepaid. Advertising deadline is Friday, 12 days before the date of publication. All issues dated on Wednesday.

Enclosed is my check for \$_____ for _____ week(s).
Please indicate desired heading _____
Advertiser _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Send to:
IN THESE TIMES, Classified Ads, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657.

Shootout

at

the

FANTASY

factory

Patty Hearst

Directed by Paul Schrader

By Pat Aufderheide

WELL, THIS IS WHAT YOU GET WHEN YOU mix an obsessive Calvinist with the end of the '60s: a prurient look at fanaticism. *Patty Hearst*, directed by Paul Schrader, is not as powerful (and spiteful) as his *Hard Core*, nor as puny as his most recent, dim *Light of Day*. Based on a major media drama that seemed to encapsulate the conflicts tearing apart the country at the time, it is inconsequential. That is, unless *Patty Hearst* becomes one of the upcoming '60s films to define an era that most moviegoers never experienced.

Schrader must have one of the most public bad consciences around. He exercises his rage against the punishing guilt and judgmentalism of his background, with themes that return to the betrayal of the individual by family and the psychopathy of belief. It has led him to nightmare, as in his scripts for *Cat People* and *Taxi Driver*. It has also led him to socially conscious work, such as *Blue Collar*, set in the Detroit

auto factory world in which big-daddy management plays the villain to union victim-heroes. And most recently it has led him to a striptease of the soul in his *The Last Temptation of Christ* script. But his career demonstrates that expression is not necessarily catharsis, and that you can go from a rigidly repressive childhood to Hollywood success without ever growing up.

He's assuredly not lying when he says in interviews that he's ready for the slings and arrows of outraged leftists for making a movie sympathetic to Patty Hearst—"There's a kind of fashionable cultural prejudice that says the rich don't suffer and whatever happens to them they deserve it anyway," he told *American Film*. He undertook the low-budget (\$4.5 million, non-union) project as an affair of the heart, empathizing with the woman he saw as a victim of media and terrorists. Unfortunately, *Patty Hearst* is a frail vehicle to carry the load of Schrader's deeply nurtured resentment.

Blank center: The central problem of the film is simply insurmountable. Schrader has chosen to stick to real characters and to use a subjective perspective. For him, this is a story about "states of mind rather than states of place." But *Patty Hearst*, the bland and unambitious scion of a

Paul Schrader's

PATTY HEARST

may be a case of the blindfolded leading the blind.

wealthy family, is not an interesting person. The *Patty Hearst* story is interesting—a rich kid, captured by a fanatical cell of self-styled revolutionaries, joins them and, when captured, is sentenced to prison.

But the interest of it is in the phenomenon of revolutionary fanaticism in a consumer society, and in public reaction to her plight and choices that labelled her both victim and culprit. Schrader, however, deliberately threw away the context, making the film an expressionist essay in subjectivity.

The look of the film is vaguely European, thanks in part to the cinematography of Italian-

Yugoslavian Bojan Bazelli. The sets evoke *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, with the first safe house seen in a combination of prison stripes and steel fencing. Shots are angled from Patty's closet perspective, with figures seen in silhouette. Flashbacks show little Patty in comfy home surroundings, only she's always blindfolded, as she was for the first 57 days of her captivity.

All the stylistic boldness goes for naught. The irreducible fact is that *Hearst* herself appears to have the character of a stale Danish. To her captors she's a hostage from the world of white bourgeois privilege, but to us she's anonymous, a lump of misplaced protoplasm. It's not Natasha Richardson's fault; she does her best, with a crooked little smile, to make her role plausible. But there's nothing to work with.

She's not the only cipher in the movie, though. How the crazed Symbionese Liberation Army came onto the landscape of American culture is utterly baffling in this film (written by Nicholas Kazan). Seen through Patty's eyes—which presumably have never seen anything more disturbing than a complaints desk at a department store—the SLA might as well be Martians. Only they're Martians that fit neatly into the media stereotypes of the time, aliens from the ugly underside of American politics.

SLA leader Cinque (Ving Rhames) is visually exploited for his black male ominousness, but he doesn't even convince as a leader of the pathetic whites, who, vocalizing their longing to be black, never rise about cardboard status. The vicious inner logic of the fanatic is asserted as the members of the cell mouth rhetoric, which is never made palpable.

Generic victim: This could have been a study in brainwashing, and it tried to be. But the question of how an ordinary human being reacts to inhuman treatment is even less interesting here than it was in *Hanoi Hilton*, a maudlin treatment of Vietnam POWs. Patty's transition from terrified victim to SLA member is not psychologically plausible, precisely because Patty is "ordinary," a generic victim, in fact the very blonde exemplar of the bourgeoisie that her generic-villain captors accuse her of being. Why didn't she flee from the SLA when she could, and make a collect phone call home? When the prosecutor poses that question, we still haven't a clue.

On the emptiness of the central character is exercised Schrader's churlishness, exemplified by the film's last words. In prison, Patty tells her father her attitude about the world outside: "Fuck 'em." She's referring to the media in specific and to people in general, for whom, she says, her crime is that as victim she did not die. The film never delivers an image of public reaction that would explain her anger, though. The best we get is the cynicism of the prosecutor, who tells her lawyer, "This is a democracy.... They want 12 jurors, tried and true, to tell 'em how to feel about the case."

Of course, the reasons for *Patty Hearst*'s public reception when the rich kid became a self-styled urban guerrilla are more complex, and more interesting. But the film is interested in *Patty*'s grudge, and shares her investment in nurturing it at the expense of the confusion of the wider society.

Schrader has re-enacted, in this film, American political solipsism rather than illuminating it. *Patty Hearst* devolves into another exploitation of *Hearst* and a repetition of the media moralism of the time, merely reversing the angle on the story.

©1988 Pat Aufderheide